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T H E S I S

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for

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B I B L I O G R A P H Y.

- Ancient Arabian poetry by Sir C.J. Iyall. (London, 1885.)
- Dictionary of Learned Men by Yāqūt ed. D.S. Margoliouth. (London, 1907-1913.)
- Diwān of Ḥassān ed. H. Hirschfeld. (London, 1910.)
- Diwān of Ibnū'l-Mu'tazz ed. 'Azīz Effendi (Cairo, 1891.)
- Diwān of Ibnū'r-Rūmī ed. Kāmil Kibānī. (Cairo, n.d.)
- Diwān of Miḥyār. (Beirut, A.H. 1314.)
- Diwān of Nabigha Dhubyānī ed. H. Derenbourg. (Paris, 1869.)
- D. = Dumyatu'l-Qasr (MS. *attached*)
- Al-Fakhrī by Ibnū't-Tiqṭaqa. (Cairo, A.H. 1317.)
- Fawātu'l-Wafayāt by al-Kutubī, ed. Muḥammad Qāsim. (Būḫāq, A.H. 1299.)
- Al-Ḥamāsa ed. Muḥammad Sa'id. (Cairo, 1913.)
- Ḥayātu'l-Ḥayawānī'l-Kubrā by ad-Damīrī. (Būḫāq, A.H. 1284.)
- Ibn Zaidoun, étude par A. Cour. (Constantine, 1920.)
- Al-'Iḡdu'th-Thamīn fī dawāwīnī 'sh-Shu'arāi's-sittatī'l-jāhiliyyīn, ed. W. Ahlwardt. (London, 1870.)
- Kāmil by Ibn Athīr, ed. 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār. (Būḫāq, A.H. 1290.)
- Kāmil by al-Mubarrad, ed. W. Wright. (Leipzig, 1874.)
- Kashfu'z-Zumūn by Ḥājī Khaḫīfa, ed. Fluegel. (Leipzig, 1835.)
- Kitābu'l-Aghānī. (Būḫāq, 1868. and Vol. XXI Leyden, 1888.)
- Kitābu'l-Ansāb by as-Sam'ānī. (London, 1912.)
- Lands of the Eastern Caliphate by G. Le Strange. (Cambridge, 1905.)
- Letters of Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, ed. D.S. Margoliouth. (Oxford, 1898.)
- Lubābu'l-Albāb by 'Awfī, ed. E.G. Browne. (London and Leide, 1903.)
- Majma'u'l-Amthāl by al-Maydānī. (Būḫāq, A.H. 1284.)
- Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā by Ridā Qulī Khān. (Tihirān, A.H. 1295.)
- Majmū' (The Seven Mu'allaqāt to which are added a number of other poems) (Tihirān, A.H. 1282.)

Mu'jamu'l-Buldān by Yāqūt, ed. Wustenfeld. (Leipzig, 1866.)

Mukhtasaru'l-Ma'āni by Sa'du'd-Dīn Taftāzānī. (Būḥārā, A.H.1311.)

Ash-Shi'r wa'sh-Shu'arā by Ibn Qutayba, ed. M.G.De Goeje. (Leyden, 1902.)

Shu'arāu'n-Nasrāniyya, ed. Cheikh, L. (Beirut, 1890.)

Siasset Nameh (Nizāmu'l-Mulk) Supplement, ed. Charles Schefer. (Paris, 1897.)

T.S. = Tadhkiratu's-Safadī (Or. 1353. British Museum.)

Tanwīru's-Siqṭ. (Cairo, A.H.1303.)

Tārīkhu'r-rusul wa'l-Mulūk by aṭ-Tabarī. (Leyden, 1879-1901.)

Ten Poems i.e. al-Mu'allaqātu'l-'Ashr, ed. Ahmad b. al-Amin. (Cairo, A.H.1331.)

Tibyān by 'Ukbarī. (Būḥārā, A.H.1287.)

'Uḥūnu'l-Anbā by Ibn Abī 'Usaybi'a, ed. A.Müller. (Königsberg, 1884.)

Wafayātu'l-A'yān by Ibn Khallikān, ed. Muḥammad Qāsim. (Būḥārā, 1882.)

Yatīmatu'd-Dahr by ath-Tha'alībī, ed. 'Abdu'l-Qādir. (Damascus, 1885.)

Zahru'l-Adāb by Abū Ishāq al-Husrī, ed. Zakī Mubarak. (Cairo, 1925.)

1. The chief sources for the biography of the author are contained in the following works:-

- (a) Wafayāt by Ibn Khallikān Vol. I. p.434.
- (b) Dictionary of Arabic Literature by Yāqūt Vol. V. pp.121-122.
- (c) Intihā'u'l-Jūd by 'Uḥayrī Vol. I. pp.62-71.
- (d) The author's own preface to the anthology and the last two short chapters at the end. These constitute our best important sources of information.

2. p.230, 2.7. See H.S. attached.

3. p.230, 1.4.

CHAPTER I.

ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR (1) AND HIS WORKS.

'Alī b. Al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abi't-Tayyib a native of Bakharz, a tract of country near Naishapur, was the author of a continuation to the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr of Ath-Tha'alībī entitled Dumyatu'l-Qasr wa'Usratu-~~z~~ahli¹-'Asr. The author in this work has covered, to a large extent, the same ground as was covered by ath-Tha'alībī in the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr. He bore two surnames viz. Abu'l-Qāsim and Abu'l-Hasan and his biographers generally refer to him by one or other of these two.

But there are several references in the anthology to the fact that he had both these surnames. Only one instance in support of each of them need be cited here.

A certain poet called Amīrak⁽²⁾ addresses the author in the following words:-

"O Abū Qāsim, the man of good qualities, the namesake of the inheritor (of the Prophet) and matchless!"

The author wrote a letter to a poet named Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī⁽³⁾ requesting him to send him a few pieces of his poetry for the anthology. The poet wrote back to him stating that he would never have chosen to mar the beauty of Bakharzī's incomparable anthology with his own poems, but for the fact that he could not disobey the order of one who was his namesake and bore the same kunyah.

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1. The chief sources for the biography of the author are contained in the following works:-

- (a) Wafayāt by Ibn Khallikān Vol. I. p.454.
- (b) Dictionary of Learned Men by Yāqūt Vol. V. pp.121-128.
- (c) Lubabu'l-Albāb by 'Awfī Vol. I. pp.68-71.
- (d) The author's own preface to the anthology and the last two short chapters at the end. These constitute our most important source of information.

2. D. p.830, L.7. See MS. attached.

3. D. p.858, L.4.

His father was also a poet whom, as a dutiful son, he frequently mentions in his anthology in season and out of season.

From two lines of his own it seems that he had some special interest in Malin, a locality in a suburb of Bakharz. Some contemporary poets have also referred to this place either in connection with the author or his father.⁽⁴⁾ The lines composed by the author himself are as follows:-⁽⁵⁾

"May God keep Malin watered as a village with white clouds whose showers guard against famine";

"For my attachment is for it, my longing is towards it, my property is in it and my wealth is derived therefrom".

The author being a notable poet, stood high in the esteem of his contemporaries. He was an accomplished scholar both of Arabic and Persian. Frequent references are made to him and to his anthology by subsequent biographers and men of letters, and these references clearly show the extent of the popularity which it enjoyed.⁽⁶⁾

The date of his birth is not mentioned by any of his biographers, and I have not been able to fix the exact year

4. e.g. D. pp.1016, L.6. and 1076, L.5.

5. T.S. p.144.

6. e.g. 'Abdu'l-Karim as-Sam'ani (born in A.H.506. and died in 562. Wafayat. I, p.378.) in his Kitabu'l-Ansab (s.v. Bakharzi); and Muhammad b. Ahmad called adh-Dhahabi (born in A.H.673. and died in 748. Fawatu'l-Wafayat. II, p.183.) in his Tarikhu'l-Isbm in connection with the biographical accounts given by him of Abu'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri (quoted on p.130 of Letters of Abu'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri).

7. Wafayat I., p.385.

8. D. p.647, L.7.

in which he was born. But he paid a visit, as he himself states, to ath-Tha'ālibī, who is noticed at some length in the anthology among the poets of Naishāpūr. His father and ath-Tha'ālibī lived for some time in this city and used to communicate with each other in verse. The author, being a boy at the time, was employed to carry the communications which passed between them. (7) Ath-Tha'ālibī died in A.H. 429. (8) From these facts it can safely be inferred that the author was born sometime in the beginning of the 5th Century of the Muhammadan era.

While a child he was taught the Qur'ān and he soon learnt it by heart. This fact had a great influence upon his future literary career, as will be seen later on. Afterwards he was taught theology according to Shāfi'ī's system. His father, finding him a promising youth, did not spare any pains in giving him a good education preliminary to higher studies.

After receiving this education at home he visited, during A.H. 434-464, several places viz. Naishāpūr, Harāt, Marw, Rayy, Balkh, Hamadhān, Isfahān, Basra, Baghdād and Wāsīt. He gives, in his preface to the Compilation a long list of the famous men of letters with whom he made acquaintance in each of the places visited by him.

Kansūr 6.

In A.H. 434 he, along with (Muhammad b. Mansur al-Kundurī, who later on became a vizier to the Seljūq Sultān, Tughril, attended the lectures of Abū Muḥammad al Juwaynī of Naishāpūr.

When al-Kundurī was in office as a Vizier the author recited before him, in Baghdād, a eulogy (9) for which he was

7. D. p.770, L.1.

8. Wafayat I., p.365.

9. D. p.647, L.7.

handsomely rewarded. The most famous lines are those in which he consoles the Vizier, his old class-fellow and now his patron, for his emasculation which was either inflicted by himself or more probably by the order of the Seljūq Sultān, Tughril. After his fall al-Bakharzī attached himself to the Nizāmī'l-Mulk and enjoyed the favour of this great minister. He also made use of a large collection of books in the Nizāmī'l-Mulk's library and has spoken about them at length in the preface.

While a young man he got a post as a scribe in the service of al-Kundurī, the Vizier, and was advanced in the office of correspondence or, according to 'Awfī, he was from the beginning one of the Secretaries of Tughril, the Seljūq Sultān. The second alternative seems more probable for the following reason. The author in his notice of a poet called al-Labbānī⁽¹⁰⁾ says that some of al-Labbānī's poems were recited to him by another poet named Bakr b. al-Musta'in, the Secretary of Sultān Tughril. In his notice of the latter poet⁽¹¹⁾ he says that he as well as the author himself "were the two sharers of one bridle and the two horses on the (same) race track".⁽¹²⁾ Later on, he retired to his native place where he lived a gay life in the midst of his friends and boon companions which resulted in his tragic death, for he was stabbed at an entertainment in A.H. 467 (A.D. 1075) or according to 'Awfī in A.H. 468 by a certain Turk who received no punishment for the murder. While at the point of death he composed a pathetic quatrain in Persian which may be quoted

10. D. p.51, L.4.

11. D. p.869, L.10.

12. کُنَّا شَرِيكِي عِنَانٍ وَفَرَسِي رِهَانٍ

13. D. p.1268, L.8.

here in order to throw some light upon the sort of life he used to lead. A perusal of the anthology will corroborate the inference drawn from this quatrain. He says as follows:-

"I am departing! Come, enjoy the scene and look on this condition (full of) a hundred thousand distractions."

"Behold a stone above and my hands beneath and see how a beloved puts the lover to the sword."

'Iyādī or 'Ayyādī, a poet, mourned him in the following two lines in Persian:-

"Poor 'Alī ^s Hān, who on account of that unfortunate combat was without any fault, like Husain (son of) 'Alī, killed in cold blood,"

"Was a lion whose meadow was literature. It is not to be wondered at, if the lion of a meadow is killed."

As regards his literary works, only five are mentioned. There appears to be no reference to the last two except that made by the author himself in his anthology.

1. The Dumyatu'l-Qasr, which contains notices of 540 more or less contemporary poets. The author devoted a good deal of his time to the compilation of it and finished it just one year before his death. He himself has stated⁽¹³⁾ that he began to compile the work when his hair was as black as musk, and that when he finished it his hair had become as white as camphor.

11. The Tarab Nama, which is a collection of Persian poems in the form of quatrains arranged alphabetically. While

13. D. p.1206, L.8.

'Awfī was in Bukhārā he found an opportunity of reading this work in a local library. In his book, Lubābu'l-Albāb, he has quoted certain quatrains from it which he was able to recollect at the time of composing this work. The Majma'u'l-Fusahā of Ridā Qulī Khān⁽¹⁴⁾ also contains one long Persian poem as well as a few of his Persian quatrains.

111.

His bulky Dīwān entitled al-Aḥsan fī Shi'r'Abī'l-Hasan. It is beyond all doubt that he had compiled a Dīwān of his own. In his notice of a poet named al-Ghānim al-Harawī⁽¹⁵⁾ he remarks that this poet was a young scholar who came to Naishāpur, borrowed his Dīwān, copied it out and read it over to him. This Dīwān referred to also by Ibn Khallikān⁽¹⁶⁾ as well as mentioned by Ḥajī Khalīfa,⁽¹⁷⁾ is not mentioned by Brockelmann and I have been unable to trace a copy. But in Tadhkiratu's-Safadī, (Or.1353 in the British Museum) a certain Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim of al-Aḥsīkat⁽¹⁸⁾ is mentioned as having made selections from our author's poems contained in his Dīwān. These selected lines with a short introduction to them cover pp.77-158 of this MS. The introduction definitely shows that the Dīwān in question was divided into twenty parts - each part dealing with a separate branch of poetical literature. The poems quoted in this MS. are selected from each group and are accordingly arranged in twenty chapters after the fashion of the original work.

14. Vol. I. p.343.

15. D. p.718, L.8.

16. Wafayāt Vol. I. p.455.

17. Vol. III. p.265.

18. He was a very learned man and a notable poet. He died after A.H.520 (Mu'jamu'l-Buldān s.v. Aḥsīkat).

- iv. Ghāliyatu's-Sukārā. (19) The author, according to himself, was asked by certain persons to write a short book giving therein a full description of the mud in the streets and the lanes of Naishāpūr. The author has quoted a few lines from this work in his anthology, and from this specimen it may be inferred that the style of the book which was in prose, was excellent. Apart from the account which the author himself gives of it, I have not found it mentioned in any one of the catalogues that I have consulted.
- v. A prose treatise, without title. In his notice of a poet named Muḥammad b. 'Alī⁽²⁰⁾ the author states that this poet wrote a treatise in which he gave preference to the hot weather over the cold. Differing from his views, however, the author wrote a counter treatise.
- One folio is missing from the end. About half of the text is carefully copied, in a clear nash which can be read easily; the second half has not been so carefully copied and is damaged in several places. There are occasionally passages which it is very difficult to decipher. Several lines and words are entirely omitted and a blank is left on the page. A considerable number of pages contain a few marginal notes explaining the meaning of certain common words and very sparingly tracing certain well-known allusions to their sources.
- Another MS. on white paper (Add. 9504) also in the British Museum, consisting of 105 folios with 25 lines on each page. It is complete and contains, in addition to the title of the book and the name of its author, a few lines on the
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19. is D. p. 833, L. 3. indicate that it was bought in Egypt in A.H. 2073. D. p. 297, L. 8. 'Abd Allah for a sum which is not specified.

CHAPTER II.

MSS. USED IN THIS EDITION,

WITH AN ESTIMATE OF THEIR RELATIVE VALUE.

I have used the following MSS. in my edition of the
Dumyatu'l-Qasr:-

A. A manuscript on brown paper (Add. 22374) in the British Museum, consisting of 297 folios with 17 lines on each page. It is not dated nor is there any clue as to where, when, by whom and from what MS. it was copied. The title of the book is nowhere mentioned. The fol. 1a is quite blank and the fol. 1b opens with ath-Tha'alibī's preface to the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr running down to the bottom of the page. The next two folios or four pages are missing. The seventh page begins with

One folio is missing from the end. About half of the text is carefully copied, in a clear nashk which can be read easily; the second half has not been so carefully copied and is damaged in several places. There are occasionally passages which it is very difficult to decipher. Several lines and words are entirely omitted and a blank is left on the page. A considerable number of pages contain a few marginal notes explaining the meaning of certain common words and very sparingly tracing certain well-known allusions to their sources.

B. Another MS. on white paper (Add. 9994) also in the British Museum, consisting of 195 folios with 25 lines on each page. It is complete and contains, in addition to the title of the book and the name of its author, a few lines on the title page which indicate that it was bought in Egypt in A.H. 1176. by one 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh for a sum which is not specified.

Those lines run as follows:- *... by night and day while singing it (the eulogy); and one who chants (poems) will be pleased with it as well as one who urges forward (people) in singing.*

There is evidence in this MS. which suggests that it was copied wholly or partly by dictation e.g.

At the end there are also a few lines which show that it was copied by one Ahmad in Tunis and was completed on Friday the 9th of Ramadan A.H. 1072. But this also does not give any clue to the text from which it was copied. The hand writing is a naskh of a uniform character throughout but difficult to read. The colophon runs as follows:- The letter by

Sumites. A considerable number of spelling mistakes also suggest the conclusion that the copier had not the text, from which he took his copy, before his eyes.

In several places the arrangement of lines differs from that in other MSS. Several lines together with seven
This MS. differs from other MSS. employed by me in

several respects:- brown paper (somewhat damaged by worms)

It exhibits the common characteristic of the Maghribi Script i.e. only one dot is used in letters Fā and Qāf.

In the case of the former the dot is put beneath the letter while in the case of the latter the single dot is put over the letter.

An Alif is often added at the end of a Mudāri' singular, having Waw as the last letter of the root; such an Alif should be added in plurals only and then even under certain conditions only. The following verse(1) will serve as an example:-

*... al-Marwānī
(D. pp. 39 and 400. respectively).*

"One who praises you will travel by night and day while singing it (the eulogy); and one who chants (poems) will be pleased with it as well as one who urges forward (camels) in singing".

There is evidence in this MS. which suggests that it was copied wholly or partly by dictation e.g.

"God through His mercy gave to us, for the loss, Abu 'Alī, the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, our Master".⁽²⁾

The under-lined word is, as the context clearly shows, a corrupt form of which assumed the former shape owing to the peculiar pronunciation of the letter by Sunnites. A considerable number of spelling mistakes also suggest the conclusion that the copyist had not the text, from which he took his copy, before his eyes.

In several places the arrangement of lines differs from that in other MSS. Several lines together with seven notices⁽³⁾ are entirely omitted.

- C. A third MS. on brown paper (somewhat damaged by worms) which was kindly lent by the Preussische Staat-bibliothek, Berlin, to the School of Oriental Studies, comprises 314 folios with 17 lines on each page. In addition to six lines from the end of the text a few pages after pp. 40 and 80 respectively are missing. The last page can hardly be read. In the beginning of the text a few folios are misplaced. On the title page the name of the anthology and the full name

2. D. p.555, L.2.

3. e.g. Muhammad b. 'Isām and Abū Muhammad al-Marwānī (D. pp.40 and 555. respectively).

of its compiler are given. Like MS. A. it is silent on points of importance i.e. when, where, by whom and from what text it was copied. The handwriting of this MS. is a uniform naskh with the exception of a few pages which are written in a different style. The paper used in this MS. and the handwriting characteristic of India lead me to think that it was written in India. The figure indicating the sum for which it was bought by a certain person un-named may also point to the same conclusion. The line containing that figure runs as follows:- No. 366 (in Flügel's Catalogue)

which was kindly lent by the National-Bibliothek, Vienna to the School of Oriental Studies, consists of 342 folios with 83

- D. The School MS. on white paper comprises pp.665 with 19 lines on each page. The handwriting is a fair naskh. This MS. like B. is complete, and on the whole good, with only one exception i.e. four pages from the preface beginning with the entire section is retained. With certain exceptions the introductory pieces are either entirely omitted are out of place and are inserted after page 17, and consequently the text in both places are made obscure and confused. This single mistake, due entirely to carelessness on the part of the copyist of the present MS. or of that from which it was copied, detracts a good deal from the value of the MS. About one-third, in all, of the MS. contains a few foot-notes which, for the most part, give synonymous words for certain ordinary or difficult words and very rarely attempt to explain an allusion or a proverbial expression. This MS. was copied by one Muhammad Sa'id in A.H. 1340 (A.D. 1922). After finishing the text the copyist appended three pages more in which he gives a full description of the MS. from which he took his copy. The original MS., according to him, comprising pp.384 was copied in Baghdad by one Mustafa b. Ahmad, a resident of the

said city, in A.H. 1064; the handwriting was fair and it contained many explanatory marginal notes; on the first page a biographical account of the author was given; in A.H. 1205 it came into the possession of Sayyid 'Isa *ab* 'Atṭār b. Sayyid Mustafā; it is still kept in Baghdad in the library belonging to the owner's descendants, and was thereby accessible to the copyist of the School MS. It is probable that the notes contained in the latter were copied from the former.

E. Another MS. on yellow paper No. 366 (in Flügel's Catalogue) which was kindly lent by the National-Bibliothek, Vienna to the School of Oriental Studies, consists of 142 folios with 23 lines on each page. The handwriting is a fair naskh. It is an abridgment of the original work. In this MS. less important poets are omitted altogether; only a selection is given from the works of more famous poets, but in a few cases of special interest or merit the entire section is retained. With certain exceptions the introductory pieces are either entirely omitted or are given in a curtailed form. On fol. 1b the name of the book is given, in red ink, as *libraries in Constantinople in which the original MSS. from which the Vienna MSS. were copied.* The colophon, which shows that it was copied in A.H. 1254, runs as follows:-two MSS. of the anthology in catalogues of *libraries in Constantinople.* One (No. 2355) is in *Waliu'd-Din's Library Vol. I. p.163.* It comprises pp.414 with 16 lines. Another MS. on light yellow paper No. 367 (in Flügel's catalogue), which also belongs to the National-Bibliothek, of Vienna and was kindly lent, consists of 221 folios with 25 lines on each page. It is complete and provides a more correct text than any of the other MSS. The handwriting is a clear naskh. The fol. 1a contains the title of the book. There are two more lines of unpointed Arabic on the same folio, which show that at some time this MS. came into the possession of one

F.

Ibrāhīm 'Ismat, as follows:-

The colophon shows that it was copied in A.H. 1073. It runs as follows:-

As regards proper names and particularly those of places

these MSS. generally vary from one another. I cite here

G. Another MS. on white paper No. 368 (in Flügel's catalogue), which also belongs to the National-Bibliothek, Vienna, consists of 156 folios with 21 lines on each page. Besides there are 22 more folios, containing selected verses from the author's *Diwan*. This MS. is also an abridgment of the original work. The handwriting is a clear naskh. There is no clue as to when it was copied. In other respects it corresponds to MS. E.

The last three MSS. are stated in Flügel's catalogue to have been copied in Constantinople. But he gives no indication as to the library or libraries in Constantinople in which the original MSS. from which the Vienna MSS. were copied, were found. With much difficulty, however, I have been able to trace out two MSS. of the anthology in catalogues of Libraries in Constantinople. One (No. 2655) is in Waliu'd-Din's Library Vol. I. p.152. It comprises pp.414 with 15 lines on each page, and is written in naskh. The other (No.795) is in the Library of 'Ashir Effendi Vol. IV. p.51. of the said catalogues; it contains no particulars other than that it is written in naskh.

There are certain drawbacks common to all the MSS. mentioned above. All the copyists, without exception, have

been guilty of disfiguring a word or words and in some cases even a whole sentence or an entire line, where they were not certain about the meaning. This has generally been done by omitting dots altogether and thereby rendering such word or words capable of being interpreted in different ways. Sometimes dots are inserted in wrong places, thus giving rise to a good deal of confusion. This sort of confusion is especially seen in the case of verbs.

As regards proper names and particularly those of places these MSS. generally vary from one another. I cite here only one instance which will serve to illustrate the point. Take the case of one Abū Ja'far al-Baḥḥāthī on whose authority the author has cited a good many poems. He was one of the Rawis of the period and on that account the author has repeated his name at least a hundred times. A certain Baḥḥāth was one of the ancestors of this Abū Ja'far; hence the latter is called al-Baḥḥāthī.⁽⁴⁾ One of the MSS. calls him al-Baḥḥāthī, another calls him an-Naḥḥāthī and a third calls him at-Taḥḥāthī. The result is that the wrong word has occurred two hundred times.

As regards their relative value, the MSS. C. D. and F. are quite good, and generally give the correct reading. The MS. A., so far as the first half of the work is concerned, is quite good. The MS. B. is, for the reasons stated above, very disappointing. The MSS. E. and G., being abridgments of the original anthology have been of very little value to me. But with the help of these MSS. I think that on the whole I have been able to obtain a satisfactory and correct text. A comparison of passages from the anthology quoted by Ibn Khallikān and others, and particularly the full account of

4. Kitābu'l-Ansāb by a's-Sam'ānī p.66.

'Amīdu'l-Mulk al-Kundurī, as quoted by M. Charles Schefer in his *Siasset Nameh* (of the *Nizāmu'l-Mulk*) Supplement⁽⁵⁾ as well as the full account of *ath-Tha'ālibī* which has been quoted by the editor of the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* at the end of Vol. IV. p.329⁽⁶⁾ with the corresponding passages in the text as edited by me, will show the advantage that I have derived from having had so many MSS. at my disposal. observed, is a continuation to the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* of *ath-Tha'ālibī*. The reason assigned by the writer in the preface for its compilation is his long-cherished desire to bring buried literary treasures to light and thereby to keep them alive, as well as the memory of their authors. In his notice of a distinguished poet of the period viz. *Yāqub b. Ahmad* he has made another remark regarding the compilation of the present work. He states that one of the chief causes which led him to compile it was the fact that this poet had urged him to undertake the work.⁽¹⁾ But in my opinion these may have formed part of the reasons and not have been the only ones. The chief figure in the anthology is undoubtedly the *Nizāmu'l-Mulk*, his poems. Nearly half of the entire work deals with him. Therefore the chief motive for its compilation was probably the desire to collect all complementary poems composed on his patron by himself as well as by others and to publish them in a permanent form. He might have been anxious by compiling this work, to attach to his supporter and co-religionist the same importance as a patron of men of letters, as had been attached to *Yāqub b. Ahmad* and *Sayyid-Dawla* in the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr*. The poems of several poets can be cited

5. Paris, 1897. p.115.

6. Ed. 'Abdu'l-Qādir (Damascus, 1885.)

1. D. p.786, l.12.

2. D. p.874, l.4, 5 & 6.

CHAPTER III.

REASONS FOR THE COMPILATION OF THE ANTHOLOGY AND ITS RELATION TO OTHER COMPILATIONS OF THE SAME TYPE.

This anthology, as has already been observed, is a continuation to the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr of a'th-Tha'ālibī. The reason assigned by the author in the preface for its compilation is his long-cherished desire to bring buried literary treasures to light and thereby to keep them alive, as well as the memory of their authors. In his notice of a distinguished poet of the period viz. Ya'qūb b. Ahmad he has made another remark regarding the compilation of the present work. He states there that one of the chief causes which led him to compile it was the fact that this poet had urged him to undertake the task.⁽¹⁾ But in my opinion these may have formed part of the reasons and not have been the only ones. The chief figure in the anthology is undoubtedly the Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, his patron. Nearly half of the entire work deals with him. Therefore the chief motive for its compilation was probably the desire to collect all complementary poems composed on his patron by himself as well as by others and to publish them in a permanent form. He might have been anxious by compiling this work, to attach to his supporter and co-religionist the same importance as a patron of men of letters, as had been attached to Ṣahib b. 'Abbad and Sayfu'd-Dawla in the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr. The poems of several poets can be cited in support of this conclusion e.g. a poet, Salmān of Nahravān,⁽²⁾

1. D. p.786, L.2.

2. D. p.274, L.4, 5 & 8.

addresses the *Nizāmu'l-Mulk* as follows:- "Verily *Ismā'il*, may his soul be sanctified, I mean the son of 'Abbād, the vizier of the East",

"Showed regard to the expectations of men of learning. But he has died and immortalised the memory of himself that he has left behind."

"Then do you open a brisk market for men of merit, so that it may be as though it never had been dull."

It is also possible that the wide-spread reputation enjoyed by the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* might have tempted the author to make a similar compilation of his own. A perusal of the preface to the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* clearly shows that the demand for its first un-revised draft exceeded the supply. This appreciation of the work encouraged its author to revise the entire work. He changed the order of it, supplemented it in several ways and moulded it into the shape which it now assumes. Its reputation reached as far as Spain, and stimulated *Abu's-Salt al-Andalusī*⁽³⁾ to compile his anthology entitled *Kitābu'l-Hadiqa 'ala uslub-i-Yatīmatī'd-Dahr*. But it is unfortunate that this precious work has not come down to us.⁽⁴⁾

So far as I know, there were two anthologies⁽⁵⁾ compiled in continuation to the *Dumyatu'l-Qasr*: (a) the *Wishāhu'd-Dumya* of *Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī*⁽⁶⁾ and (b) the

3. Born in A.H. 460 and died in A.H. 529 *Wafayāt I.* p.100.

4. *Ibn Zaidoun*, etude par A. Cour, p.7. (Constantine 1920).

5. *Wafayāt I.* p.454, II. p.98.

6. He was born in A.H. 499 and died in A.H. 565. The *Dumya* was completed in A.H. 466. The author of the *Wishāh* began the compilation of it in A.H. 528 and completed it in A.H. 535. (*Dictionary of Learned Men by Yaqut Vol.V. pp.208-214*)

Zinatu Dūmyati'd-Dahr of Abu'l Ma'ālī Sa'd b. 'Alī al-Warrāq, the continuation of which is the Kharīdatu'l-Qasr wa Jarīdatu'l-'Asr. A copy of the Dūmyatu'l-Qasr in the library of Tāju'l-Mulk in Isfahān suggested to 'Imādu'd-Dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī⁽⁷⁾ the compilation of the Kharīda.⁽⁸⁾

I have not been able to trace any MSS. of the Wishāhu'd-Dūmya or the Zinatu Dūmyati'd-Dahr; but there are two MSS. of the Kharīdatu'l-Qasr (Add. 7593 and Add. 18524) in the British Museum. Both MSS. are incomplete. One contains the earlier part of the original work only, and the other contains only a small portion of the middle part of the work and does not go down to the end of the actual compilation. From this it is obvious that the two MSS. taken together cannot make up a complete copy of the Kharīdatu'l-Qasr. There is, however, a certain MS. (Or. 7011) in the British Museum which is an abridgment of the Kharīda made by one 'Alī ar-Ridā'ī - its name is Ya'ūdū'sh-Shabāb and it covers 512 pages of long size.

7. This favourite of Saladin was born in Isfahān in A.H. 519 and died in Damascus in A.H. 597. (Wafayāt II. p.100).

8. Ibn Khallikān in his notice of 'Imādu'd-Dīn al-Kātib (Wafayāt II. p.98) makes the following remark:-
He compiled his anthology in continuation of the Zinatu-Dūmyati'd-Dahr compiled by Abu'l-Ma'ālī Sa'd b. 'Alī al-Warrāq al-Hazirī, who had compiled his anthology in continuation of the Dūmyatu'l-Qasr of al-Bakharzī. The latter compiled his anthology in continuation of the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr of ath-Tha'alibī, who compiled his anthology in continuation of al-Bārī of Harūn b. 'Alī al-Munajjim.

but he would not find time to go through and to make his selections from them. He consulted his Ta'liqāt in which he had already written down certain pieces of al-Ka'arī's work (embodied in the present compilation), which had been recited to him by Abū 'Uthmān a's-Sabū'ī. Another of the author's sources, to which he has often made allusion, is

1. D. p.738, l.8.

2. D. p.87, l.7.

Qala'idu'sh - Sharaf al-Din al-Jurjani, (13) no copy of which appears to have survived.

CHAPTER IV.

There is no THE SOURCES OF THE ANTHOLOGY. that al-Bakharzi made use of any sources other than those above mentioned. There seems to be only three sources from which the author collected his materials for the *Dumyatu'l-Qasr*.

(1) The poets who recited their own poems to the author, e.g. al-adib Y'aqub b. Ahmad, (1) and many others.

(2) The men of letters who remembered the verses of poets, more or less contemporary, and recited them to the author. Among these Rawis, the following are notable and deserve a passing mention:- (a) Abū 'Amir al-Jurjānī, (b) Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥamdānī, (c) Y'aqub b. Ahmad of Naishāpur, (d) al-'Amīd Abū Bakr al-Kuhistānī and (e) Abū Uthmān a's-Sabūnī. It is deserving of notice that the office of Rawī survived to this late period, though the art of writing had been fully developed. On this subject a few words will be said later on.

(3) The *Diwāns* and other books which he himself possessed or could lay hands upon in the *Nizāmu'l-Mulk's* Library or elsewhere, and from which he had either copied poems into his anthology directly, or had first copied them in his *Ta'liqāt*, and from thence into the anthology. We hear about this *Ta'liqāt* for the first time in connection with his notice of Abul-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. (2) The author certainly possessed a copy of the latter's *Diwān* entitled *Siqtu'z-Zand*, and apparently one of *Luzūmiyāt*; but he could not find time to go through and to make his selections from them. He consulted his *Ta'liqāt* in which he had already written down certain pieces of al-Ma'arrī's work (embodied in the present compilation), which had been recited to him by Abū Uthmān a's-Sabūnī. Another of the author's sources, to which he has often made allusion, is

1. D. p.786, L.8.

2. D. p.97, L.7.

Qalā'idu'sh - Sharaf of Abū 'Amir al-Jurjānī,⁽³⁾ no copy of which appears to have survived.

There is no evidence in the *Dumyatu'l-Qasr* that al-Bakharzī made use of any sources other than those above mentioned. The anthology consists of seven chapters. Each chapter or section deals with a set of poets belonging to a certain locality marked out by the author. This geographical distribution clearly shows the extent to which Arabic was employed as a literary medium in places far away from Arabia proper. The distribution is as follows:-

- I. The Hadrami poets and those of Hijāz (50 notices).
- II. The poets of Syria, Riyāz Zakr, Adharbayjān, Jamīra and other western parts of the Muslim World (69 notices).
- III. The poets of Irāq (65 notices).
- IV. The poets of Rayy, al-Jihāl, Isfahan, Kirmān and Fars (74 notices).
- V. The poets of Jurjān, Khūstān, Astarābādī, Qumis, Khūvarīn, Navarā' an-Nahr (55 notices).
- VI. The poets of Khurāsān, Khūstān, Rust, Sijistān and Ghazna (237 notices).
- VII. The poems of men of letters who were not generally reckoned as poets (80 notices).

The main work is preceded by a preface and one short chapter and is followed by two short chapters. In the preface the author has first surveyed his own past career, and has then dwelt at length upon the virtues and merits of the *Nisām al-Mulk*. Now comes the short chapter designated *Tafu'l-*

3. e.g. D. pp.43,L.2., 138,L.3., 566,L.2., 657,L.10., 673,L.11. and 700,L.1. The author also mentions the then Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim which he was permitted to recite before him in A.H. 365, and has cited four lines composed by the Caliph himself.

After this he enters upon the chief work. The first of the main seven chapters is

CHAPTER V.

Futūh, the Amir of the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

OUTLINES AND GENERAL FEATURES OF THE WORK.

The anthology consists of seven chapters. Each chapter or section deals with a set of poets belonging to a certain locality marked out by the author. This geographical distribution clearly shows the extent to which Arabic was employed as a literary medium in places far away from Arabia proper. The distribution is as follows:-

- I. The Bedouin poets and those of Hijāz (30 notices).
- II. The poets of Syria, Diyār Bakr, Adharbayjān, Jazīra and other western parts of the Muslim World (69 notices).
- III. The poets of Irāq (65 notices).
- IV. The poets of Rayy, al-Jibāl, Isfahān, Kirmān and Fārs (74 notices).
- V. The poets of Jurjān, Dihistān, Astarābādh, Qūmis, Khwārizm, Mawarā'n-Nahr (55 notices).
- VI. The poets of Khurāsān, Kuhistān, Bust, Sijistān and Ghazna (227 notices).
- VII. The poems of men of letters who were not generally reckoned as poets (20 notices).

The main work is preceded by a preface and one short chapter and is followed by two short chapters. In the preface the author has first surveyed his own past career, and has then dwelt at length upon the virtues and merits of the number of Arabic poets who lived in places far away from the Hijāz. Now comes the short chapter designated Tāju'l-Kitāb, in which he has praised the then Abbasid Caliph Qa'im bi-amrillah, has quoted the eulogy which he was permitted to recite before him in A.H. 455, and has cited four lines composed by the Caliph himself.

After this he enters upon the chief work. The first of the main seven chapters opens with the notice of Abu'l-Futūh, the Amir of the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. He is followed by the well-known Amir Qirwash b. al-Muqallad, and then come the rest. With the exception of the VI chapter, it is the practice of the author first to notice rulers and amirs, if any, and then treat of other poets indiscriminately. In the VI chapter the author, as he himself has explained in the beginning of it, (1) has made a distinction between some of them. First of all he has taken five of the most eminent poets, mentioning them perhaps, in what he considered to be their order of merit, and has then added the rest without any such regard. He has enlarged upon the poetical talent and genius of these five poets, and has given specimens from prose works written by two of them in which they, according to the author, excelled most of their contemporaries. In this chapter he has also cited a good many bilingual poets, who were well-versed both in Arabic and Persian and could translate, in verse, from one language into the other easily and faithfully. Several lines both in Arabic and in Persian are quoted as models.

In fact, the VI chapter is, so far as poetry is concerned, the most important of all and is by far the most interesting and entertaining. It comprises more than two fifths of the notices contained in the entire work. It seems, at first sight, strange to find included in this chapter such a large number of Arabic poets belonging to places far away from the metropolis of Islam, i.e., Baghdad. But the reason is not far to seek. Dealing in this chapter with the poets of his own province, as well as with those of places in its neighbourhood, the author naturally attached much importance

1. D. p.571, L.7.

to it, and desired to make it as interesting as possible. Of course he knew a larger number of poets belonging to his own country and to the countries adjacent to it. Besides, being one of them himself, he obviously wished to do justice to as many of them as possible, and for this reason, it is not surprising to find that a larger space has been devoted to the poets of Khurāsān. Above all, he must have been anxious to make a good impression upon the people of Naishāpūr, at least, which had so recently given birth to ath-Tha'alibī and had produced the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr. In another respect, he had ath-Tha'alibī in his mind, for, in his notice of certain poets, he has pointed out that they were passed over by ath-Tha'alibī perhaps unconsciously.⁽²⁾ Possibly al-Bakharzī has himself been guilty of a similar neglect, for he refers to a very small number of the poets of Arabia, perhaps because this was a country he had never himself visited. The seventh chapter contains the notices of those who were not generally reckoned as poets. The author claims to be the first who had ever written a chapter containing notices of the poetry of such persons.⁽³⁾ After closing this chapter, the author inserted, as pointed out above, two short chapters. In the first chapter, entitled Khalkhālu'l-Kitāb, the anthology is compared to a virgin bride and is presented to the Nizāmu'l-Mulk. She insists upon the payment of her dower, but the matter is not finally settled. In the second chapter, six poems in appreciation of the compilation, composed by five contemporary poets are quoted.

In consideration of the conventional character of the subject matter of the poems composed by these poets, as well

2. e.g., Thābit b. Harūn and Ibn Kayaghlagh (D. pp.77 and 102 respectively).

3. D. p. 1173, L.4.

as by their successors and immediate predecessors, and of the little care they took to give any detailed account of the religious, social, or political conditions of their age, it would be vain to expect the anthology to throw much light upon such topics. The fact that the poems contained in this work have been contributed by more than five hundred poets, and that only those pieces have been selected which appealed to the author, has made the range of thought in the anthology somewhat limited. Had they been written by a single poet, and specially by al-Sharīf ar-Radī or Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, there might have been some hope of finding the age depicted in their works. But nevertheless, the poems quoted in this anthology do furnish us with some ^m amount of data regarding certain aspects of the lives of the poets who composed them, and shed some light on contemporary events. Some pages may therefore be devoted to a consideration of poems of this character.

Only the following poems touch upon historical events that occurred during the period contemporary with the anthology, or shortly previous:-

I. It contains four poems composed by different poets, (4) in which they have lamented the death of al-Mutanabbī. One of these poems (5) is composed by Ibn Jinnī who also wrote a commentary on al-Mutanabbī's Diwān. Al-Bakharzī, in his notice of this commentator, remarks that he never came across any other poem composed by Ibn Jinnī; which is extraordinary, in view of the fact that 7 other lines are included in ath-Tha'ālibī's Yatīmatu'd-Dahr, which al-Bakharzī had so assiduously studied. (6) Yāqūt (7) also in his notice of Ibn

4. D. pp.78,79,218 and 1175.

5. D. p.1175, L.2.

6. Yatīmatu'd-Dahr, I. p.77.

7. Dictionary of Learned Men, V. pp.15-32.

Jinnī, quotes the above passage from al-Bākhārī, but adds a large number of poems, long and short, composed by Ibn Jinnī. This poem quoted by al-Bākhārī is also referred to by Ibn Khallikān⁽⁸⁾ but he has not quoted any line of it. A comparison of these four poems provides us with the following facts:-

Al-Mutanabbī left the court of 'Adūd-d-Dawla, the Buwayhid ruler, for his home, laden with the presents he had received. On the way he was attacked by seventy persons from the tribe of Asad under a chieftain, Fatik b. Abī Jahl. There were altogether six persons in the company of the poet, namely his son and his servants. Out of this number, only his son, Muhassad, and one of his servants, Muflih, stood by him; the rest ran away⁽⁹⁾:-

"Seventy horseman of the tribe of (Asad) assaulted al-Mutanabbī. They came to him in a wave of mail-clad warriors."

"So they came upon him while he was travelling peacefully and quietly along with six men who would not have exceeded (this number) had they been counted."

In addition to the facts stated above the poets enumerate the virtues and qualifications of the poet and request the Buwayhid Monarch to inflict summary punishment on the murderers.

II. In A.H. 450, the Caliph, Qa'im, was defeated by Basasiri, and the Ra'isu'r-Ruasa was crucified.⁽¹⁰⁾ The banners of the former were black, while those of the latter were white. On this occasion a poet called Ibn Nihir of

8. Wafayat, I. p.394.

9. D. p.80, L.6.

10. Kamil by Ibn Athir. IX, p.241.

Baghdad composed these lines: (11)

"Yes, by my life (or religion), one who believes that you (Basāsiri) are right and that they are wrong is true,"

"Verily, the white banners came, carried forward by a brave lion;"

"And the black one turned its back with head cast down. There was none to raise it from its low position."

"Look at the rebel on the gibbet, while blood is pouring from his jugular veins."

III. Two poems, (12) one composed by al-Khatib of Tabriz, and the other by the author in commemoration of the conquest of Kharasha (13) in A.H. 464 by the Nizāmī'l-Mulk and the surrender of its ruler, Fadlūn. (14) The first poem practically has no historical value. The second, comprising 64 lines gives an exaggerated account of the fortress in which Fadlūn took refuge, and says much about his surrender, and the kindly treatment of the Nizāmī'l-Mulk towards him.

IV. A poem containing 55 lines. (15) This poem is very fine, both from a literary as well as from a historical point of view. It describes briefly the battles fought by Alp

11. D. p. 258, L.1.

12. D. pp. 168 and 169.

13. Probably the fort near Jahram in Fars, the name of which is given in various forms. (G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern-Caliphate*, p. 254.) All the MSS. have Kharashana, probably confusing it with a town of the same name in Asia Minor.

14. Kamīl by Ibn Athīr. X, p. 26.

15. D. p. 691.

16. *Ṣaḥīḥ* by Ibn Khallikān. II, p. 82. and Kamīl by Ibn Athīr. X, p. 11.

Arslān, the Seljūq, against the rulers of Syria, Egypt, Sijistān and particularly one against the Byzantine Emperor. The last was fought in A.H. 463.⁽¹⁶⁾

V. A poem referring to a victory over the Byzantine Emperor.⁽¹⁷⁾

VI. A short poem,⁽¹⁸⁾ alluding to a victory over the Byzantine ruler and to the spread of Islām over his territories. The poet requests the Nizāmī'l-Mulk to attack India and the countries belonging to the Turks.

VII. Another poem⁽¹⁹⁾ also referring to a victory over the Byzantine Emperor.

VIII. A poem⁽²⁰⁾ alluding to the conquest of Ānī, belonging to the Byzantine Emperor, by Alp Arslān.⁽²¹⁾

IX. A comparatively detailed account of the 'Amīdu'l-Mulk al-Kundurī,⁽²²⁾ about whom a few words may be said.

Al-Kundurī, the vizier of Tughril, was a very prominent figure in this period. The biographical account of him given by subsequent writers⁽²³⁾ is for the most part taken, directly or indirectly, from the present work. The author was formerly al-Kundurī's class-fellow and later on he became dependent on his favour. According to some writers, he served for a time as one of the secretaries of the 'Amīd. It is quite possible to collect from the anthology sufficient

16. Kāmil by Ibn Athīr. X, p.24.⁽²⁴⁾

17. D. p.708.

18. D. p.710.

19. D. p.819.

20. D. p.896, L.4.

21. Kāmil by Ibn Athīr. X, p.14.

22. D. pp.640-656.

23. e.g. Wafayāt by Ibn Khallikān. II, p.92. and Kāmil by Ibn Athīr. X, p.11.

materials for his biography. The author has mentioned him in several connections, has quoted his poetry and a long piece of prose written by him, and lastly has cited a few poems about him composed by other poets. Besides he has devoted several pages to an account of the 'Amīd. These materials may be regarded as the outcome of first-hand information. But I doubt the correctness of certain facts furnished by the anthology, and I also think that the author has suppressed certain others, as will be pointed out later on.

It has already been noticed that after the fall of al-Kundurī in A.H. 456, he was succeeded by the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, and that the author attached himself to the latter, and dedicated to him the present work. There are certain passages in the book in which he has acknowledged his indebtedness to the 'Amīd in the strongest terms, but at the same time, he has never failed to defend the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, his new patron, and point out that the 'Amīd himself contributed to his fall. Confining myself, however, to the materials furnished by the anthology, the following biographical details are available.

He was a resident of Kumdur, a village in a suburb of Naishapur, and belonged to an insignificant family. In A.H. 434, he attended the lectures of al-Muwaffaq al-Juwaynī along with the author. The latter used to make fun of him. In one of his poems he said as follows:-(24)

"A little buffoon came from Kundur in whose face there are traces of ill luck."

When he became a vizier, he met the author by chance, and asked him, "Are you the author of the poem beginning with

24. D. p.644, L.1. But he does not specify the daughter of

25. D. p.650, L.9.

26. D. p.642, L.10.

'aqbala?'" The author admitted the fact. Thereupon the 'Amīd received him with open arms, later on permitted him to recite a eulogy before him, and showed much regard for him.

In his notice of a poet called Kāmil, (25) the author has given an anecdote which shows that the 'Amīd was a man of loose character. This fact may find its support in a subsequent event, for according to Ibn Khallikān, he was commissioned by Alp Arslān, the Seljūq, (26) (or according to Ibn Athīr, by Sultān Tughril,) (27) to arrange a marriage, on his behalf, with the daughter of Khwārizm Shāh. The statement given by the latter historian is, perhaps, the correct one as it agrees with the statement given by al-Bākhārī. It was reported to the King that the 'Amīd wished to marry her himself or actually did so. The authorities differ on this point. Some hold that he married her or wished to do so in fact, while others are of opinion that his enemies made this false report to the King. Al-Bākhārī appears to be inclined towards the first alternative. However, the 'Amīd being afraid lest he should be called upon to account for his misconduct, emasculated himself and shaved off his beard; or according to some historians, he was castrated by Sultān Tughril's order, and this latter opinion finds support in two lines forming part of the two poems composed by al-Bākhārī. The first line runs as follows:—(28)

"Tughril, the mortal king, caused his male-organs to be cut off in Khwārizm."

The second line runs as follows:—(29)

25. D. p.45, L.9.

26. Wafayāt. II, p.94.

27. Kāmil. X, p.12. But he does not specify the daughter of Khwārizm Shāh.

28. D. p.650, L.9.

29. D. p.642, L.10.

"They say that the Sultān in your absence, deprived him of the mark of being a male, while he was an attacking stallion."

On this occasion the author composed a very fine poem in which he apparently consoled him, but in reality he mocked him.

According to the author the 'Amīd was an ambitious man. He was made governor of Khwārizm, (30) and when he had brought the province under his control, he entertained the idea of declaring himself an independent ruler. His own two lines quoted in the anthology (31) point in the same direction.

"Death tastes bitter, but when my soul is athirst for rank, it (appears) sweet to the drinker of it."

"The promptings to become a chief have laid eggs in my head and are occupying it, but I am afraid lest they may carry it about." (i.e. cause it to be cut off and displayed in different places.)

When this 'Amīd was kept as a prisoner in the house of the 'Amīd of Naishāpur, al-Bākhārzi, according to his own account, paid a visit to him. According to the author, the 'Amīd during this interview spoke highly of the Nizāmū'l-Mulk, his successor, and acknowledged his indebtedness to the latter in the strongest possible terms. But this statement concerning his dying declaration is at variance with that recorded by impartial writers and biographers. According to Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Athīr, (32) when he became sure that he would soon be

30. D. p.642, L.6.

31. D. p.648, L.10.

32. Wafayāt. II, p.94. and Kāmil. X, p.12.

33. Kāmil by Ibn Athīr. X, p.12.

34. D. p.736, L.8.

35. D. p.736, L.7.

killed, he asked his executioner to tell the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, on his behalf, that he was wrong in teaching the Turks to put their viziers and other high officials to the sword; that he too must be prepared to meet the same fate, for he would never get free from the consequence of the evil precedent he had established.

It appears to me that the Nizāmu'l-Mulk's conduct towards the 'Amīd was by no means fair. It is true their interests clashed, and therefore he contrived to bring about his fall, or at any rate accelerated it. He did so mainly with two objects: first, he wished to step into his shoes, and secondly, he differed from him on some religious questions. They were certainly both very orthodox Sunnis, but with this difference, that the 'Amīd hated ash-Shāfi'ī and his followers and often attacked him, while the Nizāmu'l-Mulk was one of his devoted followers. The former was also deadly opposed to the Shi'as, and on that account, he sought the permission of Alp-Arslān, or Tughril the Seljūq, to curse them from the pulpits of Khurāsān. When he had obtained this permission, he cursed them, but unfortunately included the Ash'arites with them as well. The pronouncing of imprecations upon the latter excited resentment among the eminent religious doctors of Khurāsān, such as Abu'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, the Imāmu'l-Haramayn al-Juwaynī and others, and consequently they left Khurāsān. When the Nizāmu'l-Mulk came into power, he called them back and honoured them.⁽³³⁾ This Abu'l-Qāsim was himself an Ash'arite as well as a great exponent of the Ash'arite doctrines.⁽³⁴⁾ He never forgot the ill-treatment which his party had suffered at the hand of al-Kundurī. After al-Kundurī's fall this jurist wrote a poem in which he says that al-Kundurī deserved this misfortune for his having cursed the Muslims (Ash'arites) incessantly.⁽³⁵⁾ It should be born in mind that the Ash'arite

33. Kāmil by Ibn Athīr. X, p.12.

34. D. p.795, L.8.

35. D. p.796, L.7.

doctrines are more allied to the system of the Shāfi'ite school than that of any other group of the Sunnī-sect.

There are several lines and passages in the anthology which suggest the Nizāmu'l-Mulk's leaning towards Shāfi'ism. A certain place (perhaps Khwarizm) was almost entirely destroyed by flood. After this accident the Nizāmu'l-Mulk went there. 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Khwarizmi⁽³⁶⁾ composed a poem in his praise in which he says:-

"You have given life to the doctrine of the Son of Idrīs (ash-Shāfi'ī), and the dwellings of his followers have decayed. (May they be blessed as dwellings!)"

In A.H. 456 the 'Amīd was killed in one place, his body was buried in another place, and his head paraded in a third place etc. After his murder, al-Bakharzī was asked to compose an elegy on him, giving a detailed account of his tragic fall. This elegy, written just after the victim's death, is, in my opinion, one of the best examples of historical poetry in the Arabic language. I quote here only those lines of the elegy which embody these facts and throw some light upon his position before his fall.⁽³⁷⁾

"This is the 'Amīdu'l-Mulk by whom the seat of honour in the Council Chamber was never unoccupied!"

"And never did a rebel put off the robe of submission to him, without having to wear the garment of humiliation;"

"And never did an adversary encounter him without finding him a lion in the guise of a human being."

36. D. p.555, L.3.

37. D. p.650, L.3.

"As if in his ring, whenever he made a sign with it, was set the stone of Solomon's (ring)."

"The hand of the State raised his pillars, then the greatest of the supports fell down;"

"While his limbs were divided between different towns and countries -"

"Tughril, the mortal king, caused his male organs to be cut off in Khwarizm."

"And red, scarlet (blood) from his neck drenched Marwar-Rudh, dyeing it."

"And his body is buried in Kundur beneath the dust and the pieces of the shroud."

"And his head flew away. I feel pity for the place where it rested in the best of bodies."

"They left the contents of it in Naishapur and the empty skull in Kirman."

He was a master of Arabic and Turkish. The specimen from his prose works given in the anthology shows that he was a fine prose writer,⁽³⁸⁾ and this judgment is confirmed by two lines composed by the author in praise of him.

They run as follows:-⁽³⁹⁾

38. D. p.651, L.9.

39. D. p.646, L.8.

"He is accomplished in fine writing and languages, which are variegated like gardens, bright in colour."

"He showed the king of the Yaman the way to the Arabic tongue, and fed the Sultān of Turkey with the Turkish language."

The anthology embodies only thirteen specimens of prose written by eleven different writers. Out of this number, ten⁽⁴⁰⁾ are merely literary compositions and do not possess any historical value whatsoever. Most of them are written in the style which is technically called *Ildhwāniyyat*. As regards the remaining three pieces,⁽⁴¹⁾ the first of them consists of several items:- (a) the proclamation made by Alp Arslān, the Seljūq, after the conquest of Harāt⁽⁴²⁾ to its people; (b) an allusion to another conquest without particulars, and (c) a short description of a battle fought against a certain Arslān, whom I have not been able to identify.

The second piece gives an account of the conquest of Diyar Bakr, Rabi'a and Mudar by Tughril, the Seljūq, from A.H. 449 onwards.

The third piece alludes to a riot which took place at the time but no details are given.

In estimating the value for historical purposes of specimens of Arabic literature, it is often difficult to decide whether certain events to which allusion is made in more than one poem or piece of prose, refer to the same event or to different events.

Al-Bākhārī has stated in his preface that he will not

40: D. pp.547,553,578,581,599,651,806,976,994 and 1167.

41. D. pp.601-5, 912-17 and 1024.

42. Referred to in Kāmil by Ibn Athīr. X, p.12.

content himself with merely quoting some lines of the poets, but he will, before doing so, introduce them to the readers, except in the case of those poets of whose biography he has been unable to obtain any information and whose poetry is quoted in the sources the author has used without any accompanying biographical details. But the notices given by him of the poets, including those who are known to us from other sources as well as those about whom we practically know nothing, apart from the present work, lack the particulars and details required for a complete biography. For this reason his compilation cannot be regarded as a biographical dictionary. He has also stated that he may quote in his compilation some of the poets who have already been noticed in other anthologies, and specially in the Yatimatu'd-Dahr, but he will refrain from citing the same lines of such poets as have already been incorporated in the works of his predecessors. In this connection there are certain blunders in the anthology which it is difficult to account for. A few lines and poems attributed by him to certain poets are not attributed to the same persons by him or by certain other writers. I cite here all the instances of this type which I have been able to detect or which have been pointed out by other writers. So far as I have been able to ascertain the first seventeen have not hitherto been noticed.

I. The author has selected, among others, the very four lines composed by Tamim, the son of Ma'add the Fatimid Khalifa of Egypt, (43) which were selected by ath-Tha'alibi. (44) The first line runs as follows:-

43. D. p.66, l.1.

44. Yatima. I, p.222.

"My excuse concerning him had hardly been uttered when it fell short (of being valid). And the black (hair) advanced on his cheek (as if to kiss it) and then became confounded:"

II. Again he selected the same four lines composed by Abū Dulaf al-Khazraǵī, (45) as had already been embodied in the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr. (46) The first line runs as follows:-

"But for the Prophet, his cousin, their two children and the pure Lady".

The only variant in the quotation is that the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr reads *صنوه وابناهما* for *محمدا وصييه*

III. The author has ascribed in his anthology the following two lines to a certain poet called Sulaymān, (47) which as a matter of fact, are included in Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri's poems in his well-known *Diwān* entitled *Siqtu'z-Zand*. (48) They run as follows:-

"As if the cloud had fallen in love with her, it accompanies her camel-litter wherever it goes;"

"And the earth, as it were, has turned pale on account of its love for her and therefore it does not produce any (flower) but the ox-eye."

45. D. p.27, L.4.

46. III, p.175.

47. D. p.52, L.7.

48. Tanwīru's-Siqt. II, p.34.

54. Dictionary of Learned Men. VI, p.414.

55. D. p.203, L.2.

IV. He has ascribed in his anthology five lines beginning

VIII. Again he has ascribed two lines beginning

"O my two friends, how sweet was my morning draught (on the bank of) the Tigris and still sweeter was my evening draught (on the bank of) as-Sarāt."

to Ibn Nihrīr of Baghdad; ⁽⁴⁹⁾ but in Wafayātu'l A'yān those lines are attributed to one Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar. ⁽⁵⁰⁾

V. Again he has attributed three lines beginning

IX. Again he has attributed three lines beginning

"Have the pens of the down on cheeks stumbled in their exercises; for the mole is the mark left by stumbling?"

to Abū Hanīfa Muhammad ar-Rāmānī; ⁽⁵¹⁾ but in 'Uḡḡūnū'l-Anbā those lines are ascribed to Badi'ū'z-Zamān of Baghdad. ⁽⁵²⁾

VI. Again he has ascribed three lines beginning

X. He has ascribed the following line

to his father; ⁽⁵³⁾ but Yāqūt has ascribed them to Abū Ja'far al-Bahḥathī. ⁽⁵⁴⁾

VII. Again he has attributed two lines beginning

(the case of) the nose cleaving to the earth which (thereby)

"Do not feel secure from the breath of a poet as long as he is alive, sane and able to speak."

to one Abū'l-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. ⁽⁵⁵⁾ Al-Kutubī has ascribed the

49. D. p.259, L.8.

50. II, p.308.

51. D. p.507, L.10.

52. I, p.281.

53. D. p.1006, L.6. This line has not been translated owing to its indecency.

54. Dictionary of Learned Men. VI, p.414.

55. D. p.903, L.9.

same lines to 'Abdu'l-Qāhir of Jurjān. (56) lines to Hānyār (53)

VIII. Again he has ascribed two lines beginning al-Hamīdī. (54) They are as follows:-

"I said to her when the members of the tribe came to know (all) about us and when there was no escape for me from the hand of death,"

to Hasan b. 'Alī al-Jawharī; (57) but Yāqūt has attributed them to al-Muḥassin at-Tanūkhī. (58)

IX. Again he has attributed three lines beginning

"Many a night dark as the face of al-Barqā'idī, chill as his songs and long as his hair,"

to at-Tāhir al-Jazarī; (59) but Ibn Athīr has ascribed them to a poet known as Ibru'z-Zamāldam. (60)

X. He has ascribed the following line

"The high noses (i.e. haughty persons) smell the earth of his land (in token of humiliation). How wonderful is (the case of) the nose cleaving to the earth which (thereby) attains glory!"

to Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad in one place (61) and to Abu'l-Hasan b. ^{Abū} ~~at~~ Sahl in another place. (62)

56. Fawāt al-Wafayāt. I, p.297.

57. D. p.253, L.6.

58. Dictionary of Learned Men. VI, p.252.

59. D. p.96, L.3.

60. Kāmil by Ibn Athīr. IX, p.120.

61. D. p.212, L.4.

62. D. p.938, L.6.

XI. He has ascribed the following three lines to Miḥyār⁽⁶³⁾ but Abū Ishāq al-Ḥusrī has ascribed them to Abū Firas al-Ḥamdānī.⁽⁶⁴⁾ They run as follows:-

XIV. He has ascribed the following two lines to a certain poet, "And many a pomegranate-blossom shining on the top of the tree."

without making any remark on this point. The slip of this kind is probably due to the fact that he was employed on this work, and had not been able to revise it. The lines in question are as follows:-

"Were clippings of gold on a rag dyed yellow."

XII. The following two lines attributed by the author to one at-Tāhir al-Jazarī⁽⁶⁵⁾ are ascribed by 'Imādud-Dīn al-Katīb, the author of the Kharīda, on the authority of Abū's-Salt, the author of the Ḥadiqa, to one Abū Naṣr an-Nahḥas.⁽⁶⁶⁾ They are as follows:-⁽⁶⁷⁾

"And when they are investigated and are counted up, they are more precious than the return of (departed) youth."

XV. He has ascribed two lines beginning

XIII. The following two lines attributed by the author to his father⁽⁶⁸⁾ are with a slight change ascribed by Yāqūt to the author of the Wishāh, Abū'l Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The said lines, with a considerable change of words in the first line,

63., D. p.199, L.4.

64. Zahru'l-Ādāb. II, p.219.

65. D. p.95, L.5.

66. Wafayāt. II, p.153.

67. I have not translated these lines owing to their indecency.

68. D. p.1004, L.3.

69. Dictionary of Learned Men by Yāqūt. V, p.214.

74. III, p.365.

lines run as follows:-(70)

XIV. He has ascribed the following two lines to a certain poet,⁽⁷¹⁾ and in another place he has attributed the same two lines to another poet,⁽⁷²⁾ without making any remark on this point. The slip of this kind is probably due to the fact that he was murdered one year after finishing the work, and had not been able to revise it. The lines in question are as follows:-

"As regards fortune they are occupying a low position (lit. are at the foot of a mountain) while with regard to honour they are on the top (of hills.)"

"And when they are investigated and are counted up, they are more precious than the return of (departed) youth."

XV. He has ascribed two lines beginning to one Dhu'l-Mafakhir,⁽⁷³⁾ while in Hājī Khalīfa⁽⁷⁴⁾ the same lines, with a considerable change of words in the first line, are said to have been composed by Mihyār. These lines together with the translation of them will be quoted later on.

70. These lines have not been translated owing to their indecency.

71. D. p.124, L.6.

72. D. p.753, L.1.

73. D. p.421, L.6.

74. III, p.265.

XVI. He has attributed two lines beginning

to a poet named Ismā'īl b. Abī Saḍ, (75) while they are said by a'd-Damīrī, in his Hayātu'l-Hayawān, (76) to have been composed by a'sh-Shāfi'ī. These lines will be quoted later on.

XVII. He has suggested that the following line was composed by Dhu'r-Rumma (77) while as a matter of fact the author of it is Shammākh. (78) It runs as follows:-

"When you have carried me and my baggage to 'Arāba, may you be choked with the blood of the artery of the heart."

Ibn Khallikān points out that this line was composed by Shammākh, (79) but the idea expressed therein was borrowed by Dhu'r-Rumma in the following line addressed to his camel:-

"When you reach the son of Abū Mūsā, Bilāl, may the butcher disjoint your two limbs with an axe!"

These poets promised their camels that they would be sacrificed after they had carried them to their patrons, so that the poets might not be able to depart from their courts. But Ibn Khallikān quotes a scholar (whose name he does not mention) as criticising both these passages and giving to Abū Muwās the credit of having been the first ^{to} bring out the idea clearly, in that he promised rest to his camels in return for the service

75. D. p.404,6.

76. I, p.29.

77. D. p.316,L.8-10.

78. Al-Aghānī. VIII, p.106. and Kāmil by Mubarrad. I, p.75.

79. Wafayāt. I, p.512.

rendered by them. He says:-

"And when the riding-beasts convey us to Muhammad, let their backs not be profaned by riders."

I cannot believe it possible that al-Bākhazī was not acquainted with these lines and the names of the authors of them; but, by mistake, he assigned this line composed by one to another. On the other hand, Abū Nuwās does not deserve the credit of having been the first to express this idea clearly. It was Farazdaq, a contemporary of Dhu'r-Rumma, who gave expression to it long before Abū Nuwās. Farazdaq, on his way to Rusāfa to pay a visit to Hishām b. Abdu'l-Malik, composed the following line addressed to his she-camel:- (80)

"When you have arrived at Rusāfa, you will gain rest from journeying in the hot season, and from the bleeding galls on the back."

From him the idea was borrowed by another poet, Dāūd b. Salam, who was also prior in date to Abū Nuwās. He addressed his she-camel as follows:- (81)

"You will be free, O camel! from (the troubles involved in) my halting and travelling if you carry me to Qutham." Speaking Abū Nuwās only made the idea finer by expressing it in a beautiful metaphor. Earlier still, long before Farazdaq this idea was clearly expressed by 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāha. (82)

80. Wafayāt. I, p.128. and al Aghānī. VIII, p.106.

81. Al-Aghānī. VIII, p.106.

82. Kāmil by al-Mubarrad. I, p.75.

XVIII. Ibn Khallikān, in his notice of Mihyār, after quoting a few poems composed by him, adds⁽⁸³⁾ "The above-named al-Bakharzī has also noticed in his anthology his (i.e. Mihyār's) son, al-Hasan, and has ascribed to him the poem rhyming in Hā, which includes the following verse:-(84)

"O gentle breeze (blowing from) Kāzima, how intense is the weeping and affliction which you have excited!"
 "This is a very lengthy poem and is one of the well-known masterpieces of Mihyār. I do not know how he (al-Bakharzī) committed this gross mistake."

Out of the many poets noticed in the anthology, only one female poet⁽⁸⁵⁾ has been mentioned, and only two lines from her are quoted. This decrease in number of female poets is probably due to one of the reforms gradually introduced by Islām, which aimed at cutting off free intercourse between males and females so far as practicable, and thereby saving the Muslim world from moral degradation. Women in pre-Islamic as well as in early Islamic days had many incentives to compose poems, while those belonging to the period under consideration practically had none. Even this single female poet noticed in the anthology was a singing girl, and on that account, I think, she could have had access to such societies as tended to bring her poetical talent to notice. Speaking generally, female poets from early times down to the fall of the Umayyad dynasty, came from all classes of society, but later on, the singing girls were almost the only women who

83. Wafayāt. II, pp.195-197.

84. D. p.202, L.5. and Mihyār's Diwān, p.149.

85. D. p.62, L.2.

cultivated this particular branch of literary activity.

The pre-Islamic poets mentioned their ladies by their names. In the beginning of Islām, when its rulers of social intercourse were not so rigid as they became later on, men and women could mix freely with one another on certain occasions. Among the poets belonging to this period, who referred to their ladies by name, 'Umar b. Abī-Rabi'a, Qays b. Dhurayh, Jamīl and Kuthayyir are the most famous. 'Abdu'r Raḥmān, son of Ḥassān, wrote complimentary lines⁽⁸⁶⁾ on the daughter or the sister of Mu'āwiya, and in doing so he incurred the displeasure of his son, Yazīd.

From that time onward, poets were occasionally warned against mentioning any particular woman in their love poems. Aḥwaṣ, a distinguished poet of his period, used to describe in his poems the charms of the ladies belonging to the aristocracy of Medina, and Ma'bad, the well-known singer and musician, sang those poems. The poet received a warning, but he disregarded the order. The matter was brought to the notice of the Caliph, Sulaymān b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, who severely punished the poet.⁽⁸⁷⁾ This rule was strictly maintained, except in the case of a few Caliphs, in whose days it was temporarily relaxed.

In the light of the foregoing remarks, it is by no means surprising to note that out of so many poets noticed in this anthology, only one has mentioned the lady with whom he had fallen in love, by name; and she happened to be his cousin, as was generally the case with the ladies beloved by the ancient poets. It is further deserving of notice that this poet was a resident of Medina, the earlier poets of which city never considered themselves to be lacking in respect to their ladies by mentioning them in their poems. Moreover, this holy

86. Al-Aghānī. XIII, p.149. and Kāmil by Mubarrad. I, p.168

87. al-Aghānī. IV, p.48.

city was ^aat a considerable distance from the seat of government, and therefore its residents seldom felt the severity of rules and regulations to their full extent. The line in question runs as follows:-(88)

"O my two friends, what is the matter with me and what device (can I discover) while I am suffering at the hand of Dhuwaba something like insanity?"

Probably the fear of paying the penalty imposed by the Muslim rulers for mentioning some particular woman in their poems and certain other considerations, led the poets of the later periods not only to conceal such names, but also to allude to them in ambiguous terms. They began to use tenses and pronouns meant for males, and thereby paved the way to the style in which Persian odes are written. A few poets of this period appear to have touched upon these points. A certain poet says:-(89)

"See my condition and my reduced body. All this is due to my love for one whose name I will not mention."
The same poet says in another poem:-(90)

"She is mentioned in terms as a rule applied to males, though she is no other than a fair woman with fingers dyed with henna."
Another poet says:-(91)

88. D. p.37, L.11.

89. D. p.31, L.10.

90. D. p.32, L.4.

91. D. p.359, L.7.

"My soul's desire is towards Arab women of good disposition, though the tongue may use disguise." It is remarkable that there are only four poems in the entire work in praise of any Muslim rulers. One of them was composed by the author himself in praise of the Abbasid Caliph, Qā'im, (92) a second was composed by a poet called Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar in praise of Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and the third and the fourth were composed by Abū Bakr al-Kuhistānī in praise of Muḥammad, the second son of Maḥmūd of Ghazna; (93) this last mentioned poet was Secretary of the Department of Official Correspondence under Muḥammad, and it is quite natural to find him praising his master. (94) This fact seems to indicate what we also know to have been true from other sources, viz. that poets during that period had little to hope from the patronage of princes. On the other hand, the anthology contains two lines composed by Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī, (95) which show how the poet hated both Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd, as well as their Kingdom. He says:-

"Our (true) Maḥmūd (the praised one) is God and the Mas'ūd (fortunate) is one who fears Him. Therefore, do not talk of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd (the rulers of Ghazna)."

"They are two monarchs. If a choice between their kingdom and the wood of a crucifixion were offered me, intelligence would point towards the wood."

92. D. p.18, L.11.

93. D. pp.780, 626 and 629 respectively.

94. D. p.869, L.4.

95. D. p.97, L.10.

One of the chief features of the anthology is this, that it contains a considerable number of poems of various length in which rhyme-letters are vowelless. In this connection, it may be noted that almost all of them are composed by poets of Persian nationality. In the Persian language, the qāfiya is as a rule, vowelless or muqayyad. Only two lines are quoted here in order to indicate the nature of this kind of qāfiya. (96)

"Do not consider the mole, which has caught your fancy, to be anything other than the core of my infatuated heart."

"It set out to kiss the charming down upon his cheek and did not return."

Another notable feature of this work, so far as I can judge, is that it contains a very small number of Shī'a poets, as compared with those contained in ath-Tha'ālibī's anthology. But this is quite in keeping with our expectations. Al-Bakharzī, unlike ath-Tha'ālibī, was a very orthodox Sunnī, and the political atmosphere at the time of the compilation of the Dumyatu'l-Qasr was also less favourable to the Shī'as than that in which the Yatimatu'd-Dahr was composed.

There are certain tests whereby a Muslim can generally determine whether a particular speaker, writer or poet is a Sunnī or Shī'a. This is not the place for a complete enumeration of them, but a few words about some of them may enable us to determine the religion of certain of the poets noticed in the anthology.

The first test is the name. A Shī'a, for example, cannot

CHAPTER VI.

THE POETS FROM WHOSE WORKS EXTRACTS ARE TAKEN.

The second point is the diversity of religious attitude. The poets from whose works extracts are taken are 540 in number, not to mention the earlier poets from whose writings one or two verses are occasionally quoted. Out of this number, some are poets by profession while others are amateurs. In the same way certain poets are important, while others are insignificant. Some of them are pure Arabs, while the majority belong to various other nationalities. Among the latter a larger number of poets are of Persian extraction. A few of them are either Jews, Christians or Magians, and the rest are Muslims. They are inhabitants of almost all the countries governed at the time by Muslim rulers, as the geographical distribution clearly shows.

In the case of two poets only, (1) namely 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī and Abū Mansūr al-Bakharzī, has the author specifically stated that they were Shi'as. But as regards certain others we know from other sources that they belonged to this community, e.g., ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī, his illustrious brother, 'Alam u'l-Hudā, and probably Miḥyār and his son, Abu'l-Hasan. There are certain tests whereby a Muslim can generally determine whether a particular speaker, writer or poet is a Sunnī or Shi'a. This is not the place for a complete enumeration of them, but a few words about some of them may enable us to determine the religion of certain of the poets noticed in the anthology.

The first test is the name. A Shi'a, for example, cannot

1. D. pp.101,L.4. and 960,L.9.

2. D. p.270,L.10. 3. D. p.285,L.1. 4. D. p.235,L.10.

bear a name which is associated with a person whom he ought to denounce on certain religious grounds. He can never condescend to be called Ibn Ziyād and so on.

The second test is the diversity of religious attitude towards certain important questions. According to Shi'as all the Prophets and their legitimate successors are infallible while the Sunnis hold a contrary opinion. A certain poet Ibn Abī Tālib composed a poem at the instance of one Fāris b. 'Annān⁽²⁾ in which he praised the Prophet and his successors in such terms as leave no room for doubt that both the poet and his patron were Shi'as. On the other hand the poet Abū Naṣr of Tabriz in one of his poems says as follows:-(3)

"And on that account (i.e. his love for Bathsheba) David displeased his Lord and bore the burden of blame, sin and faithlessness."

This poet could not have been a Shi'a when he composed this line:

The Shi'as hold that on account of the martyrdom of Karbalā no rejoicing should on any account be made in the sacred month of Muharram. But a poet, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, congratulates⁽⁴⁾ a certain Abū Naṣr on a son being born to him in this month and therefore neither of them could have been a Shi'a. His two lines, among others, run as follows:-

"What a blessed month is the month of Muharram!
Its days have unfastened the loops of the age."

"What a divine blessing and gift have been granted in it,
which have made thanks (to Him) obligatory!"

Thirdly there are certain other expressions and phrases which are peculiar to each sect. A Shī'a is not permitted by his religion to address any one with the title of Amīru'l Mūminīn except the first of the twelve Imāms, unless he is forced by circumstances to deviate from such an established rule. Among the poets noticed in the compilation ash-Sharīf ar-Radī is undoubtedly a Shī'a but he had to address the Abbasid Caliph, al-Qādir billāh, with this title and did so, but with an air of boasting and self-praise. He says:-(5)

(b) His well-known elegy, comprising 88 lines, composed on the death of the father of ash-Sharīf ar-Radī. This poem "Gently, O Commander of the faithful! for we are not distinguishable from one another so far as the lofty tree of glory is concerned."

"The flock (or wealth) of one whose cattle have perished, and the ambergris of one desirous of perfumes, has died. O that there will never be a distinction between us when we vie with each other in glory. We are both deep rooted in respect of high rank,"

is included in his Dīwan known as Sīqat's-Zand. A man who was not of the Shī'a persuasion could hardly have given expression to the ideas contained therein.

"With the exception of the Khilāfat which distinguishes you; for I am destitute of it while you have put it on round your neck."

As regards the next best poet of the same period i.e. Abu'l 'Alā al-Ma'arri much has been written by his critics both in Europe and elsewhere. Some hold that he was an atheist and quote certain passages and lines from his works in support of this statement while others go to the other extreme. At any rate he had been a Muslim up to the time

5. Wafayāt by Ibn Khallikān II, p.2. Vol. I. p.187.

7. Tanwīr's Sīq. II, p.58.

8. Tanwīr's Sīq. I, p.139.

of his first visit to Baghdad. But so far as I am aware, none has ever ascertained to which Muslim sect he belonged. In my opinion his leaning was towards Shi'ism. I cite here only four considerations, among others, in support of my argument.

(a) Among the books written by him there is one entitled

كتاب بعض فضائل أمير المؤمنين علي

The list of his writings does not contain any book which indicates a bias towards any religion other than Shi'ism. (6)

(b) His well-known elegy, comprising 68 lines, composed on the death of the father of ash-Sharīf ar-Radī. This poem beginning with the words

"The flock (or wealth) of one whose cattle have perished, and the ambergris of one desirous of perfumes, has died. O that misfortunes would no more afflict us!"

is included in his *Diwān* known as *Siqtu's-Zand*. (7) A man who was not of the Shi'a persuasion could hardly have given expression to the ideas contained therein.

(c) A certain Alid had fallen ill and on that occasion he composed a poem whose very first line seems to be decisive. (8)

"Terrible is it, by my life, that a great calamity should fall on the descendants of 'Alī while the rest of the creation is safe!"

In the same poem he says:-

6. Dictionary of Learned Men by Yāqūt. Vol. I. p.187.

7. Tanwīru's Siqt. II, p.55.

8. Tanwīru's Siqt. I, p.139.

"I never knew (before) that one like you was ill while the morning breeze remained unaffected." great fame, quoted in

(d) In one of the panegyrics comprising 62 lines, composed by him on one of the descendants of the Prophet he wrote the following five lines among others:-(9) Sher, al-Hasan b. Kihyar, al-Buṭṭī at-Tabrizī, Abū 'Amir al-Jurjānī and a few others.

For the rest, there are certainly to be found among them some "And there are two witnesses against the age in respect of fine poets, but their names are unknown except in this anthology only." the blood of the two martyrs, 'Alī and his son."

Apart from the personality of the poets quoted, there are

"In the last part of the night they are (like) two dawns and in its beginning they are (like) two evening twilights."

for his anthology? and (ii) how much did he select from the

works of each poet? As regards the first problem, it may "They clung to the shirt (of the age) in order that it should come on the day of resurrection to implore justice at the hand of the All-Merciful."

fancy or willing his personal anthology best. Nevertheless the work, on the whole, is very close for an obvious reason.

"(O the Son of) one of the five who only are referred to in every speech and idea."

which he, in my opinion, does not show a true critical judgment. He has selected for his compilation almost all that

"The beings of the universe have been made to imbibe by their very nature love for you, and it has been made obligatory by all religions."

The commentator rightly points out that al-Ma'arri when writing this line had in his mind Qur'ān XLII, 22, and clearly accepts the Shī'a⁶ interpretation of it.

This poet is so well-known that it is unnecessary here to dwell upon any other aspect of his life and writings.

Besides the above-mentioned ar-Radī and Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, there are not many poets of great fame, quoted in this anthology. Among those whose names are well-known are 'Alamu'l-Hudā, Mihyār and Tamīm b. Ma'add, ath-Tha'ālibī, the author of the Yatīma, the author's father, al-Ḥasan b. Mihyār, al-Khaṭīb at-Tabrizī, Abū 'Āmir al-Jurjānī and a few others. For the rest, there are certainly to be found among them some fine poets, but their names are unknown except in this anthology only.

Apart from the personality of the poets quoted, there are two problems which present themselves for solution, i.e. (1) from what point of view did the author make selections for his anthology? and (11) how much did he select from the works of each poet? As regards the first problem, it may safely be said that the only criterion was his own individual liking. He selected what aroused his curiosity, caught his fancy or suited his personal advantage best. Nevertheless the work, on the whole, is very fine for an obvious reason. He seems to be anxious to select masterpieces of poetry and he appears to have done so with the exceptions of a few cases in which he, in my opinion, does not show a true critical judgment. He has embodied in the compilation almost all that was written about the Niẓāmu'l-Mulk without distinguishing the significant from the insignificant. This is excusable when we remember how dependent an author in those days was upon the favour of a patron. He has also given undue prominence to his father, to his father's friends as well as to his own friends. In his notice of his father⁽¹⁰⁾ he himself states that as a rule fathers are naturally given to admire the works of their sons; while he, the author, is a devout admirer of

10. D. p.992, L.5.

the works of his father.

There are certain other points which are also objectionable. He has mentioned (11) a certain poet Abu'l-Faraj al-Chundijānī but he has not quoted a single line composed by him. The reason given by him for such omission is wholly unsatisfactory. This poet in all his poems had satirised a certain friend of al-Bakharzī and he did not choose to displease him by quoting those poems in his anthology. But there are a good many other satirical poems, some of them even full of immoral ideas, which he has quoted without raising any objection to them. He has noticed Imāmu'l-Haramaym, the great jurist of the Shāfi'ī school and has described his virtues and merits fully, but he was naturally unable to quote any poem composed by him because he never wrote any. It is quite clear that this jurist did not properly come within the scope of the anthology, but the author devoted two pages to him (12) apparently merely because he (like himself) was a Shāfi'ī and happened too to be the son of Abū Muḥammad al-Juwaynī to whom al-Bakharzī was so much indebted. He left a blank space in his anthology for poems that this jurist might write.

With regard to the second problem, he himself has remarked in the preface that he has embodied in his anthology much of "the hidden literary treasures." What exactly he means by this phrase, is not clear. It certainly cannot refer to the well-known works of the most celebrated poets whom he has quoted, for the merits of some of these were universally recognised. But possibly he claims for his own anthology that it had brought to notice poems that were undeservedly neglected and might have been forgotten altogether but for his appreciation of them.

11. D. p.379, L.5.

12. D. p.801, L.10.

The Nizāmu'l-Mulk is undoubtedly the hero and the central figure of the work. About one half of the poems contained therein have some bearing, directly or indirectly, on him and for this reason it will not be out of place here to sketch his life as briefly as possible. (13)

Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ishāq surnamed the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, was born in Tūs of a family of Dihqāns in A.H.408 (A.D. 1017). He succeeded 'Amīdu'l-Mulk al-Kundurī as a Vizier at the latter's fall on Alp Arslān's accession to the throne in A.H.455 (A.D. 1063) and he himself, in his turn, was succeeded by Abū'l-Ghānim Tāju'l-Mulk. He was an able minister and statesman. He himself had no skill in poetical art but he was a generous patron of men of letters. He attracted to his court poets from distant places. The large number of poems contained in the Dumyatu'l-Qasr and written in his praise will fully demonstrate this fact. His chief defect lay in his harshness towards the Shī'as and Ismā'ilīs. In order to promote education and to spread learning he founded a college in Naishāpūr, and another in Baghdad, the most notable among whose professors was Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī. (14) He also established a fine library in Naishāpūr. At the instance of Malik Shāh, the Seljūq, he wrote his famous book entitled Siyāsat Nāma which he finished shortly before he was murdered. He was assassinated in A.H.485 (A.D. 1092) near Nahāwand by one of the Fida'īs of Ḥasan Ṣabbāh.

13. Some of the sources of biography are D., Wafayāt. I, pp.179-181, and Kāmil by Ibn Athīr, X, pp.75-78.

14. Wafayāt, I, p.587.

CHAPTER VII.

THE YATĪMATU'D-DAHR AND THE DUMYATU'L-QASR COMPARED.

Ath-Tha'ālibī divided his anthology into four main chapters and did not devote any one of them exclusively to the poets belonging to Arabia proper. On the other hand al-Bakharzī divided his compilation into seven main chapters, setting apart the first of them for the notices of the poets of Arabia alone.

Though the number of notices contained in the Dumyatu'l Qasr exceeds the number of notices contained in the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr, yet the former is less bulky than the latter, because the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr contains more than a dozen notices of poets, each very exhaustively dealt with, for thirty pages more or less have been devoted to each of them. This fact clearly shows that ath-Tha'ālibī had abundant materials at his disposal from which to make selections for his anthology. The time in which he flourished was also somewhat more favourable to the culture of poetry. The best poets noticed in his anthology are those who were attached either to a ruler or to an eminent person holding a high post in government. Among these two classes of patrons Sayfu'd-Dawla and Šāhib b. 'Abbad were very notable at the time and to the courts of these two illustrious patrons of men of letters were attracted poets from distant places. They praised them and in return they were handsomely rewarded. They had to be very careful not to commit any blunders in their compositions partly because the rival poets and prose writers were ever ready to attack their weak points and partly because these two illustrious patrons were notable critics as well as themselves distinguished

poets. Even al-Mutanabbī could not escape the criticism of Sayfu'd-Dawla and had to adopt the correction suggested by him. Once the poets wrote an ode in which he congratulated the ruler on his brilliant victory over his enemies and gave a description of the battle. The ode in question contained the following line among others:-(1)(3) The lines in question, whoever their author may be, have no merit either in form or meaning. But there is one conclusive proof that he never "And the fort (al-Hadath) was possessed with something like madness and on that account amulets in the shape of bodies of the slain people were (hung) upon it." The poet had at first put the word "Jiyaf" (corpses) for "Juthath" but he substituted the latter for the former in deference to the correction made by his patron. There is a similar anecdote in the Dumyatu'l-Qasr(2) told of a poet known as ash-Shā'ir al-Ausī who wrote a panegyric on Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, a contemporary of ath-Tha'ālibī. One of the lines was as follows:-

"When I rode to you upon my colt, it was shod with the full moon of the sky and had stars as nails (in its shoes)." The Ṣāhib asked the poet to give reasons for using the verb "un'ilat" which does not agree with its subject in gender as well as for comparing the shoe with the full moon with which it hardly bore any resemblance. The poet, being caught, could only give unsatisfactory reasons.

On the other hand there was practically no such patron of men of letters during the period to which the majority of the poets noticed in al-Bakharzī's anthology belong. The most

1. Tibyān, II, p.296.

2. D. p.61, L.1.

3. D. p.61, L.2.

distinguished patron at the time was undoubtedly the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, but he himself had no skill in the art of Arabic poetry and never composed any Arabic poem. Ibn-Khallikān has quoted two lines in Arabic alleged to have been composed by him and has also pointed out that according to some authorities they were written by another person.⁽³⁾ The lines in question, whosoever their author may be, have no merit either in form or meaning. But there is one conclusive proof that he never composed even a single line, up to A.H. 467 - the year in which al-Bakharzī was stabbed. Had he done so, the author would have surely given it a foremost place in his work, with a fine and elaborate introduction, as he did in his notice of his teacher and the father of the Imāmu'l-Haramayn viz. Abū-Muhammad al-Juwaynī who is the author of two lines only.⁽⁴⁾ I think that al-Bakharzī never expected the Nizāmu'l-Mulk to compose any poem at any time otherwise he would undoubtedly have left a blank space for the expected poem, as he did in the case of the Imāmu'l-Haramayn⁽⁵⁾ to whom reference has already been made.

Ath-Tha'ālibī has introduced poets in a few sentences and has selected longer passages from their works. In the case of some few rulers and other distinguished patrons of poets he has named those poets who were either attached to them permanently or were only casual panegyrists. In the case of the more famous poets he has divided their works into different heads e.g. love poems, poems dealing with wine etc. and has cited specimens from each group. He has also quoted those lines in which the ideas were borrowed from other poets ancient or contemporary. He has cited several lines composed by them in

3. Wafayāt, I, p.180.

4. D. p.900, L.2.

5. D. p.801, L.10.

the letters of Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri exhibit identically the which the same ideas are repeated and has quoted those lines in which they showed originality. On the other hand al-Bakharzī has selected a smaller number of verses from the works of the poets included in his anthology and has devoted a larger space to his introductions to them. It cannot be said as a rule that materials at his disposal were scanty; for we know that he himself possessed copies of several diwāns of contemporary poets, and others were to be found in the libraries of Naishapur and Baghdad which he visited several times. Among the poets who have been noticed by both the authors are ar-Radi and Tamīm b. Ma'add and a very few others. Ath-Tha'alibi has selected from their works at least ten times more than al-Bakharzī has done. Even in this case it cannot be said that the former, though prior in date, had exhausted the fine pieces and consequently left very little for his successor. Al-Bakharzī too has omitted very much of a high degree of excellence. Any reader of ar-Radi's Diwān will find, apart from those pieces which have been selected by the two authors, a number of other pieces at least of equal merit. The poems selected by al-Bakharzī from Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri's compositions bear no comparison to the rest of his fine works. I have already pointed out that al-Bakharzī, according to himself, had a copy of al-Ma'arri's Diwān, but he states that he could not spare time to make selections from it. The fact is that he could not devote much time to literary work on account of his other engagements.

Both of them have cited a good many short or long specimens of prose written by their contemporaries. These prose works are quite in keeping with the style which was in fashion in those days. The prose written by the two authors themselves, the specimens inserted in the two anthologies and

the Letters of Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī exhibit identically the same features. They are ornate, rhymed, rich in allusions to far-fetched events and abound in proverbs and quotations from the Qur'ān, the Traditions and particularly from old poems. On almost every page of their writings an entire line or even frequently merely a hemistich, composed by some earlier poet, is inserted without any allusion to the author and without any acknowledgement to the fact that they were borrowed. If the reader does not know that a particular line or hemistich has been borrowed from the works of others, it may seem to have been composed by the writer who quotes it. In certain places in MSS. used by me the copyist has failed to recognise that a particular passage was a line of poetry or a hemistich and has consequently divided it in an arbitrary manner. So far as al-Bakharzī alone is concerned, one can hardly understand the prose written by him unless one is thoroughly acquainted with the Diwān of al-Mutanabbī and the works of early poets especially those whose poems are included in the Hamāsa, - as will be shown later on. Two illustrations of such borrowing in the prose written by al-Bakharzī may suffice here.

The poet al-Amīr Abu'l-Fath took wine during an entertainment in which he was poisoned. Al-Bakharzī in his notice of this poet remarks:-

(Verily death possesses armies, one of which is wine).⁽⁶⁾ I think that this remark was suggested by a sentence, which later on became proverbial, uttered by Mu'āwiya. In A.H. 38 Malik al-Ashtar was appointed governor of Egypt. On his way he was entertained by the poll-tax officer of Qulzum who gave him poison in honey at the instigation of Mu'āwiya, who on hearing

of Mālik's death said

(Verily God has armies, one of which is honey.)⁽⁷⁾

The poet Abu'l-Hasan⁽⁸⁾ was originally an inhabitant of Zāwa, but our author included him among the poets of Naishāpūr and remarked

(But Zāwa, verily I have been unjust to it when I deprived it of its beauty (when I included Abu'l-Hasan among the poets of Naishāpūr) like the wine of al-A'shā of whose colour he deprived it.) This refers to the following well-known line composed by al-A'shā:-⁽⁹⁾

"And many a (sort) of wine, which Babylon has rendered old, (as red) as the blood of a slaughtered (animal), I have deprived of its red colour."

Both the authors have occasionally explained certain difficult words and lines and have enlarged upon certain difficult metaphors, as was done by Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī in al-Aghānī. They have also criticised certain lines. Ath-Tha'alibī's tone is very mild but our author's manner of literary criticism is sometimes characterized by harshness and severity. In order to illustrate the point one instance

may be quoted here. The poet, Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muḥammad,

7. Majmau'l-Anthāl, I, p.10, and Ḥamāsa, I, p.39. (foot note).

8. D. p.1052, L.8.

9. Shu'arāu'n-Naṣrānīyya, I, p.370.

composed a poem in which he congratulated a certain rich man, unnamed, on the occasion of a new-year's festival. The poem includes the following two lines which have been criticised by al-Bakharzī:-(10)

"And the atmosphere became as bright as the sharp-edged Indian sword."

In the author's opinion, the description of the atmosphere as bright at the time of Mayrūz reveals the incompetence of the poet and ought to be rejected as worthless.(11)

"The eyes of white clouds shed tears without weeping."

The author remarks that this line contradicts the statement made in the previous line; for the brightness of the atmosphere together with thick pouring clouds, which make the gardens laugh with their excessive weeping, is as scarce as a vulture's egg or as impossible as a pregnant male.(12)

A comparison of the two anthologies will show how closely al-Bakharzī followed the style of ath-Tha'ālibī. Being an intelligent copyist of his style and a resident of the same province he seems to have attempted to make his anthology the better of the two. But the conclusion at which I have arrived is that the poems selected from the works of the poets

10. D.pp.745-746.

11.

12.

contained in the Yatimatu'd-Dahr are, on the whole, better than those selected in the Dumyatu'l-Qasr. The number of fine and notable poets is certainly greater in the former. But so far as the prose narrative written by their respective authors is concerned, the case appears to be reverse, for al-Bakharzi's comments and introductions are in finer Arabic than those written by his predecessor.

The pre-Islamic as well as the early Islamic poets were natural, straightforward and true to their environment; consequently their poetry reflects the character of their own age and for this reason it was called "The Public Register of the Arab People".⁽¹⁾ The promulgation of Islām, the introduction of a new form of government with which the Arabs had hitherto been quite unfamiliar, the Arab conquest of foreign countries which brought them into contact with foreign nations, and later on the ever-growing despotism of the Muslim rulers were the main causes which tended, in due course, to change their tone. The transition from the early mode of life and thought was, of course, a gradual one. The more the aristocratic or despotic form of government succeeded in taking the place of the earlier democratic rule, so highly valued by the Arabs, the more artificial the style became. Another cause of this growing artificiality may be mentioned. The Muslim rulers were fully conscious of the power and influence that the poets had long been exercising over man in their respective circles. The clashing interests of hostile political parties made each one anxious to gain the support of influential poets to sing its praises and to carry on propaganda in its name. Mu'awiya, the first Umayyad caliph, retained a few poets for such a purpose.

1. أشعر دواوات العرب

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POETRY OF THE 5TH CENTURY, AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE DUMYATU'L-QASR.

Before dealing with this topic it seems proper to make a few general remarks relevant thereto.

(a) THE ARABIC POETRY OF THE PERSIANS.

The pre-Islamic as well as the early Islamic poets were natural, straightforward and true to their environment; consequently their poetry reflects the character of their own age and for this reason it was called "The Public Register of the Arab People".⁽¹⁾ The promulgation of Islām, the introduction of a new form of government with which the Arabs had hitherto been quite unfamiliar, the Arab conquest of foreign countries which brought them into contact with foreign nations, and later on the ever-growing despotism of the Muslim rulers were the main causes which tended, in due course, to change their tone. The transition from the early mode of life and thought was, of course, a gradual one. The more the aristocratic or despotic form of government succeeded in taking the place of the earlier democratic rule, so highly valued by the Arabs, the more artificial the style became. Another cause of this growing artificiality may be mentioned. The Muslim rulers were fully conscious of the power and influence that the poets had long been exercising over men in their respective circles. The clashing interests of hostile political parties made each one anxious to gain the support of influential poets to sing its praises and to carry on propaganda in its name. Mu'āwiyā, the first Umayyad caliph, retained a few poets for such a purpose.

1. الشَّعْرُ دِيْوَانُ الْعَرَبِ

2. al-Aghani II, p. 46.

3. al-Aghani II, p. 46.

These unfortunate persons had now to adapt themselves to the situation in which they were placed and more particularly to the changing moods of their patrons. They were required to say what might tend to promote the cause of their masters, no matter whether right or wrong. They first enlarged, in their poems, upon the virtues of free election; but when the caliphate became hereditary they changed their tone and like Ibn Mu'tazz, Marwān b. Abī Ḥafsa, 'Alī b. Jahm, Ḥusain b. Dahhāk and others, dwelt at length upon the merits of nomination and treated the caliphate as a property which should be handed down as an inheritance. In order to illustrate this remark, a few typical instances may be cited here.

Marwān b. Abī Ḥafsa in his well-known poem composed in praise of al-Mahdī, the Abbasid caliph, addresses the Alids as follows:-(2)

"Do you (wish to) wipe out the stars from the sky with your hands or do you (wish to) hide its crescent?"

follows:-

"Or do you deny the message of your Lord which was brought by Gabriel to the Prophet who announced it?"

"The last verse of Anfāl testifies regarding their (Abbasid's) inheritance and you wish to annul it."

The same poet says on another occasion:-(3)

"How is it possible (and it will never be possible) for the sons of daughters to get the inheritance which (rightfully) belongs to uncles?"

2. al-Aghānī IX, p.44.

3. al-Aghānī IX, p.45.

Ibn al-Mu'tazz naturally bases the claim⁽⁴⁾ of the Abbasid to the caliphate on the assumption that they were the lawful inheritors of the Prophet.

He addresses the descendants of the Prophet as follows:-
 above referred to opens with the following line:-⁽⁷⁾

"We have inherited the robes (insignia of the Khilāfat) of the Prophet; then why do you pull us by the borders of them?"

The poet substituted *أبا جعفر* for *أبا منصور*

"O you, the sons of his daughter, you are his relatives; but the sons of his uncle have a better claim to them."

Even the poets who were inclined to speak the truth or to express their opinions freely and independently on certain points, could not do so without running the risk of being punished. Farazdaq could not escape punishment at the hand of Hishām b. 'Abdī'l-Malik for composing his famous poem in which he paid his tribute to the great-grandson of the Prophet.⁽⁵⁾

The second line of the poem above referred to runs as follows:-

"This is he whose footsteps the valley (of Mecca) knows and whom this temple as well as the sacred and profane places know."

Such a bold poet as Bashshār b. Burd had to change certain words in his well-known poem, composed shortly before Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh rebelled against Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr, the second Caliph of the Abbasid dynasty, in A.H. 145.⁽⁶⁾

4. His Dīwān I, p.6.

5. al-Aghānī XIX, p.40, Wafayāt II, p.265.

6. At-Tabarī under A.H. 145.

The poet in this poem gave some advice to Ibrāhīm and admonished the Caliph. But when the revolt resulted in the death of the former, the poet changed a few words to avoid being punished at the hand of the Abbasid Caliph. The poem above referred to opens with the following line:-(7)

"O Abū Ja'far, length of life does not abide for ever and one who is safe (now) will cease very soon to be so."

The poet substituted

أَبَا جَعْفَرٍ for أَبَا مُسْلِمٍ

Even in this anthology there is an anecdote about the old and nearly blind poet, Ibn Nihrīr of Baghdad, who gave vent to his rejoicings at Basāsiri's conduct towards the Caliph, Qa'im, and he had to pay heavily for it.(8) His four lines which refer to this event have already been quoted above.

Such restrictions on freedom of utterance continued for a long time, with the result that artificiality in poetry became a fashion for succeeding generations to imitate.

The transference of this artificial literary method from the Arabic poets to poets of Persian nationality, who used Arabic as their literary medium, requires a few words of explanation.

The conquest of Persia by the Arabs caused the national feeling of its people to be for a time in abeyance and consequently their literature also found for a time expression in the language of their conquerors. For a considerable period Arabic was the only literary medium in Persia for prose as well as verse. Later on, the Persians once more re-asserted their own nationality by throwing off the foreign

7. al-Aghānī III, p.29.

8. D. p.258.

yoke and by establishing independent or semi-independent states, and the Persian language in the long run came to be employed as the favourite literary medium. Nevertheless the Arabic language has left certain permanent marks upon the Persian language by furnishing it with many expressions peculiar to Arabic and with a large number of words, mostly technical, which it is hardly likely to shake off as long as it endures. Even Firdawsī could not altogether avoid the use of Arabic words, though they were quite unsuitable to the environment with which the Shāh Nāma had to deal.

In Persia, as well as in India, the use of Arabic as a medium for literary purposes and especially for religious works has up to the present day been generally regarded by Muslims as a test of profound learning and deep scholarship. In the 5th Century of the Muhammadan era there were several poets of Persian nationality who used their own language as a literary medium;⁽⁹⁾ but by far the larger number of poets belonging to this nationality used Arabic, as was the fashion of the day, either exclusively or in addition to their own mother tongue. This anthology comprises a considerable number of such poets who not only were natives of Persia, but some of them even retained pure Persian names. Out of several poets noticed in the compilation, who knew both Arabic and Persian only the following two need be mentioned here as representative of this class. One of them is Abū Naṣr who translated into Persian on the spur of the moment two Arabic lines composed by another poet. This translation, which has been done very skilfully, is a conclusive proof of the translator's command of

9. See Lubābu'l-Albāb, passim.

10. D. pp. 708, l. 7. and 709, l. 3.

11. D. p. 1058.

the two languages. (10) The original lines run as follows:-

language - Persian - during the first half of the 10th century of the Hijabian era, to attempt to

"I became afraid when his locks came down to the plain of his cheek whose burning coal was scorching."

extent they succeeded in their efforts. Especially striking is the case of the Arabic-writing poets of Persia who closely

followed "The locks returned, one and all, safely, while he who was afraid was consumed."

The Persian rendering is as follows:- by race or not, belonging to the period under consideration, and the earlier poets who were strictly Persian, and, on the other hand, to distinguish between the verse of Arabs and those of non-Arabs

More interesting is the case of the other poet, Abū Ja'far (11)

who composed two Arabic poems and soon after translated them

into Persian, retaining the same metre (Mutaqarib) and the

same rhyme-letters as were employed in the original. The

four lines quoted in the anthology run as follows:-

the Arabs, and that even belonged to the same period and

consequently the subject matter of their poems was practically

identical. "Who will defend me from thy willow-like stature and from thy two rosy cheeks of scarlet colour?"

The translation is as follows:-

also to be a very natural follower of the style of the Arab poets; in fact, the

anthology, in which the poet's name is given, is

"Draw near, both of you, to the full moon of the darkness and behold the form fashioned for the world (to see)."

The Persian translation runs as follows:-

"We lived all the while in the world without knowing love; while in the world we were in 'like will be like' (and

10. D. pp.766,L.7. and 767,L.3.

11. D. p.1055.

12. D. p.10, L.12.

It was the fashion for all poets who wrote in the Arabic language - whether Muslims or non-Muslims - during the first half of the 5th Century of the Muhammadan era, to attempt to copy the style of their predecessors and to a considerable extent they succeeded in their efforts. Especially striking is the case of the Arabic-writing poets of Persia who closely followed the style of pure Arabs. Consequently it is difficult to distinguish on the one hand, between the poets who wrote in Arabic, whether really Arabs by race or not, belonging to the period under consideration, and the earlier poets whom they slavishly imitated, and, on the other hand, to distinguish between the poems of Arabs and those of non-Arabs both belonging to the same period. As regards the first problem, there are not wanting instances of finer feelings which are surely the outcome of a later culture. As regards the second problem, such an attempt is beset with difficulties in view of the fact that the non-Arabs so successfully imitated the Arabs, and that both belonged to the same period and consequently the subject matter of their poems was practically identical. That some sort of distinction between these two classes of poets exists, can hardly be doubted, in view of the following examples. Al-Bakharzī, a native of Persia, was deemed to be a very skilful imitator of the style of the Arab poets; in A.H. 455 he composed his famous poem, quoted in the anthology, in praise of Qa'im, the Abbasid Caliph, this poem opens with the following line:- (12)

13. Dictionary of Learned Men, V, p.134.

14. Mu'jamu'l-Buldan IV, p.233.

15. "We lived till we saw in every month wonders concerning love; while in one of the proverbs is 'Live till Rajab' (and you will see wonders)."

16. According to the 'Istisna' (Istisna IV, p.304) he was one of the most eminent writers of the period both in prose

The people of Baghdad did not appreciate this poem though it is generally regarded as one of his masterpieces. They remarked that it was not free from the 'chilliness' of the Persians.⁽¹³⁾ Another notable poet⁽¹⁴⁾ of this period Dhu'l-Mafakhir Abu'l-Faraj Ahmad entitled al-Ustādh, for his poetical talent, was a native of Nayramān in a suburb of Hamadhān. His poetry, too, was not appreciated by the Arab poets because they were of the opinion that it did not succeed in shaking itself free from Persian influence.⁽¹⁵⁾ Still more remarkable is the story told by a poet, Gharīb, entitled al-Khādīm (because he had served several Caliphs of Baghdad). He says⁽¹⁶⁾ that he used to recite poems by distinguished poets of Persian nationality such as Abu'l-Fath al-Bustī⁽¹⁷⁾ and others of equal merit to the people of Baghdad; but they did not appreciate even a single line composed by such poets and asked him to recite to them lines of the following type composed by a poet who was one of themselves. unwilling to admit their inferiority to the Arabs in the field of versification. A certain poet

"Be kind, O Umm 'Amr; may God add to your charm!"

"Do not sell me at a low price; verily one, like me, is sold at a high price."

This lack of appreciation of poems written by non-Arabs may be partly due to some inherent defect in these poets them-

13. Dictionary of Learned Men, V, p.124.

14. Mu'jamu'l-Buldān IV, p.856.

15. D. p.421, L.4.

16. D. p.213, L.3.

17. According to ath-Tha'alibī (Yatīma IV, p.204) he was one of the most eminent writers of the period both in prose and verse.

selves⁽¹⁸⁾ or to a difference between the poetical taste of the two classes of poets - Arabs and non-Arabs - or to both causes, or may partly be due to the Arabs' prejudice against the Persians, who had already begun to emerge out from the state of servitude, to overshadow their former masters and to re-assert once more their own nationality. As regards the mental activity and the literary capability of the Persians, it may truly be said that the part played by them in judicial, executive and administrative affairs was by no means inferior to that played by their co-partners, the Arabs. Their contribution to learning is greater than that of the Arabs, as can be proved by their works which are still extant. They took a prominent part in the rival schools of Basra and Kufa. The three instances, among others, cited above may perhaps show that the Arabs discouraged poets belonging to other nations. On the other hand, several instances may be cited to show that the non-Arabs were generally unwilling to admit their inferiority to the Arabs in the field of versification. A certain poet named 'Alī b. ar-Rūmī says that it sometimes happens that Rūm produces fine poems the like of which Arabia never produced. ⁽¹⁹⁾

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18. Al-Bakharzī in his notice of 'Abdu'l-Qāhir, the grammarian of Jurjān, has stated that his superiority in learning was admitted on all hands (D. p.443, L.5.) and that he was the most prominent figure among the well-known scholars of his age. He has quoted several poems composed by this distinguished scholar. The following line forms part of one of them (D. p.448, L.1.):—

"Then you will see the mode of sitting of a man who sits in an upright and uneasy posture and whose camels have been tied with fore-girths."

According to Yāqūt (Mu'jamu'l-Buldān s.v. Maṣqalābādh) when the Sharīf of Mecca heard this line he said that 'Abdu'l-Qāhir ought to have put the word 'Huzzimat' for 'Shuddidat'.

19. Bājī Khalīfa III, p. 265.

20. Bājī Khalīfa III, p. 265.

love, hunting, drinking, description of battle, animals (such as camels, horses, deer, wild cows, etc.) trees and flowers and Mihyar expresses his opinion on this point as follows:-(20)

"Though I do not trace my lineage and origin to Arabs and though Ya'rub and Iyad have not given birth to me;"

the various parts played by the poets, as lovers, throughout the journey and to depict what comes just after this prelude to the main subject,

"Yet sometimes an ash-coloured bird - a dove - coos, and sometimes too lutes, which are mere chattels, utter speech."

Now the whole problem with which I have to deal resolves itself into two questions: (1) to what extent did the poets in question imitate their predecessors? In this case I shall confine myself, to a large extent, to al-Bakharzi himself, as a typical representative poet of the period, taking into consideration not only his poems as contained in the anthology; but also such of his other poems as have come down to us.

(2) To what extent have they departed from the old beaten path and what innovations or modifications, giving evidence of individuality, have they introduced into their poems? In the latter case I will not confine myself to any particular poet, and I will give only a few typical examples.

(b) SLAVISH IMITATION OF EARLY ARABIC POETRY.

The style of the poets under consideration is for the most part extremely artificial and pedantic. Their poems generally cover the same ground as was covered by their predecessors whom they set up as their models, and for this reason the subject matter of their poetry generally consists of one or more of the following topics, viz., panegyric, satire, lament for the dead, boasting, generosity, hospitality, friendship,

love, hunting, drinking, description of battle, animals (such as camels, horses, deer, wild cows, etc.) trees and flowers and (most important of all) a description of the supposed journey beset with the dangers of the desert - excessive heat or cold, thunders, lightning, mirage, scarcity of water, wild beasts etc. It would have been interesting to describe the various parts played by the poets, as lovers, throughout the journey and to depict what comes just after this prelude to the main subject, but it is unnecessary to repeat what has already been touched upon by eminent scholars and particularly by Ibn-Qutayba in his *Kitābu'sh-Shi'r wa'sh-Shu'arā* (p.14.) and by Sir C. J. Lyall in his *Ancient Arabian Poetry* (Introduction p.19). There is, however, one remarkable omission in the poetry of these poets of a later age. They being generally Muslims make no mention of dogs, the favourites of the early poets, as rejoicing at the arrival of guests, nor do they represent guests as imitating the barking of a dog in order to make the dogs of a camp bark, as was the common practice of the early poets when journeying in a dark and chilly night.

Out of a large number of poets noticed in this compilation only two of them disapproved of the practice of a poet shedding tears over the abode of his lady and over the traces of the camping ground. One of them is Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. He says as follows:-(21)

"Greet the dwelling places for the sake of their household and weep for Hind and not for the trench or the stones."

The other is Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. He says as

21. D. p.98, L.9.

22. D. pp.1050, L.9. and 1051, L.2.

follows:- (22) caused vegetables to grow.) That this was their belief may be proved by the fact that the authorities on

Rhetoric have included such phrases, from the point of view of

"To enquire from the traces about fair ladies is, in the opinion of sages, due to want of judgment on the part of a childish person."

In another poem he says:-

and the sole agent who sent rain and caused vegetables to grow, and that what seemed to be causes were only instruments employed

"To stop by the traces of an encampment over which the vicissitudes of time have passed, will cause your intelligence to be looked down upon." of Ibn al-Mu'alla (23)

Water was generally scarce in Arabia and on that account the Arabs valued it highly; hence the frequent request by pre-Islamic poets to clouds to pour over particular tracts of land in which they were interested. They went even a further step, and recommended their relatives and friends, both dead and alive, and their tombs to clouds, and did not stop here but asked them to show their generosity in favour of those objects which were not material, viz., a certain period of time of which they had a happy memory, a particular night or day in which they were once interested, a pastime or an amusement etc. The same was the case with the Islamic poets of Arabia but with a certain difference. Even the pagan Arabs who believed in a god, attributed rain to certain stars directly, without the intervention of such a god, and in the same way they believed that vegetables and plants owed their growth and existence entirely to the spring season. This belief found its expression in two well-known phrases, viz., *مِطْرُ نَابِتِوْ كُنَا* (we have been given rain by such a star foretelling it) and *أَنْبَتَ الرَّبِيعِ الْبَقْلَ* (the

22. D. pp.1060,L.9. and 1061,L.2.

23. *Qasida* I, p.237.

spring season caused vegetables to grow.) That this was their belief may be proved by the fact that the authorities on rhetoric have included such phrases, from the point of view of the pagan Arabs, under the heading of what is called Isnād Haqīqī. But this belief was contrary to the teaching of Islām, and the Muslims were taught to believe that God was the real and the sole agent who sent rain and caused vegetables to grow, and that what seemed to be causes were only instruments employed by Him to translate His will into action. Therefore these authorities included such phrases from the point of view of a Muslim under the heading of Isnād Majāzī. (23)

However, the custom of recommending persons and other objects, material and non-material, to clouds was retained by the Muslim poets of Arabia, e.g., the following line of the famous elegy composed on the death of Ma'n son of Zāida: (24)

"Draw near, both of you, to the tomb of Ma'n and say to his grave 'May morning showers water you with spring rain again and again.'"

The majority of the poets belonging to this period lived in places where as compared with Arabia there was plenty of water and periodical rain, but nevertheless their poetry too abounds in the petition above referred to.

Apart from borrowing the subject matter of which their poetry is made up from the works of the early poets, the poets under consideration have (i) frequently inserted lines and hemistichs composed by them, (ii) have imitated their style and (iii) have occasionally borrowed their ideas. Illustrations of each form of imitation will now be given.

23. Mukhtasaru'l-Ma'ānī I, p.12.

24. Hamāsa I, p.388.

(1) Insertion of, or reference to, the lines or hemistichs of early poets.

Single hemistichs of early poets are frequently inserted by these poets in their own poems. This is generally done without making any reference to the original author and consequently if these verses are not well-known they may pass off, in certain cases, as the composition of the poets in whose works they occur. Abu'l-Fath, a poet of Isfahān, recited two lines in praise of Abū 'Amir al-Jurjānī but the second line of the poem was taken without acknowledgment from a poem composed by another poet. Our author not knowing this fact thought that both the lines were composed by Abu'l-Fath. He came to know the fact only when it was pointed out to him by Abū 'Amir himself.⁽²⁵⁾ There is, however, only one poet quoted in this anthology who has indicated his indebtedness to an earlier poet, namely Abu'l-Hasan⁽²⁶⁾ who has borrowed a line from Abū Firās al-Hamdānī and apparently from the manner in which he introduces one hemistich has acknowledged that he borrowed it, though he does not say from what poet. His mother died and he lamented her death in a poem, two lines of which run as follows:-

"In the burial-ground of al-Husain I pay a visit to my mother's (tomb) while the fire in the heart is kindled."

"I water her tomb with my tears and recite 'Let the tears be poured.'"

The only word which suggests his borrowing from another is 'arwi' whose root with all the derivatives is generally used

25. D. p.325, L.5.

26. D. p.861, L.11.

29. Ten poems p.74.

30. F. S. p.123.

with reference to the work of another. The last two hemistichs in the above lines inserted by the poet were composed by Abū Firas, the cousin of Sayfu'd-Dawla, (27) as follows:-

"Let the tears be poured and the fire in the heart be kindled."

This practice of borrowing from earlier poets a few words, or even an entire line or a hemistich, may be illustrated from the works of other poets included by al-Bakharzī in his anthology, as well as from the poems of al-Bakharzī himself, whether found in the Durrya or elsewhere. A few examples may be given here, beginning with al-Bakharzī himself.

He says:-(28)

"This is not but that the remains of my village are like" etc.

The second half of the line is taken from the first line of the Mu'allaga composed by Zuhayr b. Abī Sulma which runs as follows:-(29)

"Does the speechless trace of the encampment in the stony ground between Durraj and Mutathallim belong to the abode of Umm 'Awfa?"

In another poem he says:-(30)

"I never have had an opportunity of entering the abode but I remembered Dakhūl and Hawmal."

27. Yatima I, p.25.

28. T. S. p.126.

29. Ten Poems p.74.

30. T. S. p.125.

The last three words in the second hemistich refer to the following first line of the Mu'allaga composed by Imru'ul-Qays:-(31)

This line clearly refers to the following line composed by Nabigha Rabiya:-(32)

"Stop, (O two companions,) so that we may weep remembering the beloved and (her) abode on the edge of a sandy desert between Dakhūl and Hawmal." whose stars are slow in setting."

Again he says:-(32)

"When you alight at his valley you will see a preserve, well-protected, which repelled the vicissitudes of time so that they were put to shame." This line composed by a certain poet unnamed:-(33)

"The sons of the mean folk from the tribe of Dhuhl b. Shaybān did not plunder the camels of those who sought his protection." I be seen no more ox-eye after to-night."

The second hemistich of the second line is borrowed from the first line composed by Qurayt, with which the Hamāsa opens (33) i.e.,

"It will suffice you, O time; leave me alone, for there is a "Had I belonged to the tribe of Māzin, the sons etc." says, there. Again he says:-(34)

The second hemistich is borrowed from the following well-known line in the Mu'allaga composed by Imru'ul-Qays:-(40)

31. Ten Poems p.50.

32. This appears to be a phony-name, but I have been unable

32. T. S. p.107.

33. Hamāsa I, p.3.

34. T. S. p.127.

35. Hamāsa II, p.71.

36. T. S. p.128.

40. Ten Poems p.52.

"O Umayma, a time in Zamawwan⁽³⁵⁾ which left no safety has become more lenient, as well as a crushing anxiety."

This line clearly refers to the following line composed by Nabigha Dhubyānī.⁽³⁶⁾

Again he says:-(41)

"Leave me, O Umayma, to a crushing anxiety and to a night whose hardship I endure and whose stars are slow in setting."

Again he says:-(37) lean flank;

"I remembered the ox-eye on the upland meadows and its scent was not to be met with after the night."

This refers to the following line composed by a certain poet unnamed:-(38)

"Enjoy the fragrance of the ox-eye on the upland meadows, for there will be seen no more ox-eye after to-night."

On the death of his father he composed an elegy in which he addressed Time as follows:-(39)

"Then it reached the low ground without receiving a single scratch from the smooth rock while both being ashamed, looked on" (at the place).

"It will suffice you, O Time; leave me alone, for there is a long time since you have galled my camel, O Imru'1-Qays, therefore do you dismount."

The second hemistich is borrowed from the following well-known line in the Mu'allāqa composed by Imru'1-Qays:-(40)

35. This appears to be a place-name, but I have been unable to trace it.

36. *Diwān* p.77.

37. *D.* p.676, L.9.

38. *Ḥamāsa* II, p.71.

39. *T. S.* p.152.

40. *Ten Poems* p.52.

The second hemistich is borrowed from the following line composed by Abū Warrāq. This line forms part of a poem in which "She was saying while the camel-litter was swaying with us etc."

Again he says:-(41)

"I swear if you do not admit that its hoof is etc."

"And many a man with sides swollen out, smooth and hollow, having a stout chest and lean flank;"

"I thanked him for his good actions just as the son of

"Inclined to one side and jumped leaning to one side, while pastime, being put to shame, was looking at" (the trick.)

These two lines refer to the following two lines composed by Ta'abbata Sharran:-(42)

"I spread out for the (plan) my breast and it slid down the smooth rock - the breast which consisted of a stout chest and a lean flank."

"Then it reached the low ground without receiving a single scratch from the smooth rock while Death being ashamed, looked on" (at the plan).

Again he says:-(43)

"As though my heart, if it is not cleft by grief, is either made of the rock of Tadmur or of the face of Uthmān."

41. T. S. p.149.

42. Hamāsa I, p.18.

43. T. S. p.154.

The second hemistich is borrowed from the following line composed by Abū Tammām. This line forms part of a poem in which the poet describes the strength of his horse and in satirises one called Uthmān. (44)

"I swear if you do not admit that its hoof is etc."

Another poet quoted in the Dumya says:-(45)

"I thanked him for his good actions just as the son of Hujr gave thanks when he alighted at Tarif's court-yard on Salma (a mountain).

This line probably refers to the following line (46) composed by Imru'ū'l-Qays in praise of Tarif by whom the poet was entertained on Salma.

"How excellent in his generosity is Tarif son of Mila, during the chilly and cold night; towards the light of whose fire you direct yourself by night."

Another poet named Abū Nasr of Tabriz says:-(47)

"And (this) my (poem) rhyming in letter Kāf, is such a piece of poetry as I will not sell for the poem, rhyming in the same letter, in which there is (a mention of) wirak and Turwak."

44. D. p.95, L.10.

45. D. p.135, L.8.

46. al-'Iqdu'th-Thamin p.124.

47. D. p.161, L.1.

48. *Uthman ibn al-Afi*, p. 124 and 127.

49. *Uthman ibn al-Afi*.

Turwak was the name of a she-camel which was presented to al-Mutanabbī by 'Adūdu'd-Dawla. The poet, before his departure for his native place composed a poem, rhyming in the letter Kaf, in which he sought his patron's leave to go home. This poem, which is generally supposed to be his last literary work, begins with(48)

"May one who falls short of your attainments be a ransom for you; and if so, there will not be (found) a single monarch who may not be a ransom for you."

This poem by al-Mutanabbī contains the following line to which Abū Nasr makes allusion:-

"And many a one of sweet saliva will kiss the saddle of Turwak and its wirāk (a piece of cloth adorning the fore part of a saddle) when we make it kneel."

The poem of Abū Nasr comprising 38 lines, was composed in praise of the Nizāmū'l-Mulk. The poet while composing it had al-Mutanabbī in his mind and successfully imitated his poem. He was a pure Persian but no-one whose mother tongue is not Arabic, can reasonably claim to be able to differentiate between the poems of the imitator and the imitated, and the imitator himself was conscious of his success and skill in imitating al-Mutanabbī. He says:-

"Had the eyes of one who mounted Turwak seen me, they would have found me such a forerunner as can never be overtaken."

The poet Abū'l-Mahāsīn says in praise of the Nizāmū'l-Mulk:(49)

48. Tibyān II, p.10. and Wafayāt. I, pp.424 and 527.

49. D. p.166,L.6.

"Throw aside histories written by (or dealing with) Arabs and non-Arabs, and write upon them 'There is none in the abode.'"

"You have made an advancing army trample on the land of the Greeks. They do not ask about the advancing form." (i.e., they offered a bold resistance, without stopping to make any enquiries about the strength etc. of the enemy.)

The second hemistich of this line is borrowed from the following line composed by Ḥassān b. Thābit:-(50) "There is none in the abode."

The well-known poet, Ibn Khayyāṭ, says about his own son:-(51) "They are visited (by so many guests) that their dogs cease to howl etc."

The poet Abū Mansūr deplores his condition as follows:-(51) "The (his mother) knows the fact."

The second hemistich is probably an echo of the well-known proverb:-(52) "O marvels! What is the matter with my people that they have lost me? What a hero they have lost!"

The second hemistich is borrowed from the following proverbial line composed by al-'Arjī:-(52) "While (Jahaym) (alone) has got the true information."

Another poet, Abū Bakr, (53) writes: "They have missed me and what a hero for the day of battle and the obstruction of a frontier they have lost!" (53)

Dihkhudā Abū'l-'Abbās says in praise of the Nizāmu'l-Mulk:-(54) "Grief but take courage."

The greater part of the second hemistich is borrowed from

50. His Diwān p.17.

51. D. p.953, L.1.

52. al-Aghānī I, p.165.

53. D. p.927, L.6.

54. Majma' al-Jawā'id I, p.394.

55. D. p.542, L.11.

56. Ten Pans p.55.

"Throw aside histories written by (or dealing with) Arabs and non-Arabs, and write upon them 'There is none in the abode.'"

This line probably refers to the following line composed by Nabigha adh-Dhubyānī:-(54)

Again the poet, 'All b. Muḥammad, (55)

"I stopped there (at the deserted abode) at evening in order to enquire of it; but it was unable to answer and there was none in the abode."

The well-known poet, Ibn Hindū, says about his own son:-(55)

A considerable part of the second hemistich is borrowed from the following line of Ja'far b. 'Ubayd:-(56)

"And many a man claims to be the son of such a one; while she (his mother) knows the fact."

The second hemistich is probably an echo of the well-known proverb (56) namely,

The poet, Abū Nāṣir, (57) says:-

"She enquires from every rider about Ḥasīn; while (Juhayna (alone) has got the true information)."

Another poet, Abū Muḥammad, (57) writes:-

Forget her words 'O my grief (for) to-day and O my regret (for) to-morrow!"

"Patiently endure the separation from me, do not die of from grief but take courage."

The greater part of the second hemistich is borrowed from the following line composed by Tarafa b. al-'Abd. (58)

54. Ten Poems p.136.

55. D. p.507, L.1.

56. Majma'ul-Anthāl I, p.394.

57. D. p.842, L.11.

58. Ten Poems p.62.

"And whatever thing I may forget, I will not forget her words (uttered) while her tears cause the contents of the Collyrium - cases to flow down."

"My companions, while their camels stop by me there, say 'Do not die of grief but take courage.'"

Again the poet, 'Alī b. Muhammad, (59)

(11) imitation of certain forms of poetry and modes of expression.

"And we had been gathering the fruit of desires for some time; when (those desires) are remembered, my soul on their account wellnigh departs."

A considerable part of the second hemistich is borrowed from the following line of Ja'far b. 'Ulba:-(60)

(Her phantom) "Visited (me) and greeted (me); then it rose and took leave (of me); but when it turned its back, (my) soul wellnigh departed."

The poet, Abū Naṣr, (61) says:-

"And whatever of Asmā's words I may forget, I will not forget her words 'O my grief (for) to-day and O my regret (for) to-morrow!'"

The first hemistich is borrowed, with a slight change, from the following line composed by Ibn Mayyāda:-(62)

"Ask Umayya about me, whether I was faithful to her and whether I protected neighbours from disgrace."

59. D. p.864, L.4.

60. Hamāsa. I, p.11.

61. D. p.983, L.6.

62. Hamāsa. II, p.134.

63. al-aghāni. XXI, p.102.

64. Hamāsa. I, p.7.; al-aghāni. VIII, p.102 and p.103; VII, p.59; VI, p.49; Maṣnawī of Ibn 'r-Rūmī. III, p.335; Dīwān. II, p.407. respectively.

"And whatever thing I may forget, I will not forget her words (uttered) while her tears cause the contents of the Collyrium - cases to flow down."

These are a few examples of borrowing from earlier poets, and may suffice here, though many more might be brought forward.

(ii) Imitation of certain forms of poetry and modes of expression.

The poets of this period clearly imitated the style of their predecessors as regards the structure of their poetry. This has generally been done by employing the same metres with the same rhyme-letters as the early poets had made use of in their masterpieces, though so far as the actual vocabulary of the poems is concerned, the imitation has not been carried very far. To a certain extent they have also imitated certain peculiar modes of expression and turns of phrase to which a few of the early poets owed much of their prominence. Only a few typical instances need be cited below.

It appears to me that the following line composed by a pre-Islamic poet, Zuhayr b. Janāb, (63) on account of the beauty of its form enjoyed a good deal of popularity and attracted the attention of several later poets down to this period. The line runs as follows:-

"Ask Umayma about me, whether I was faithful to her and whether I protected neighbours from disgrace."

Among the early imitators of this metre (Basīṭ) and rhyme the following notable poets deserve a passing mention viz., Qurayṭ b. ʿUnayf, Qays b. Dhurayh, Farazdaq, Jarīr, Bashshār b. Burd, Ibnur-Rūmī and al-Mutanabbī (64) Among the imitators

63. al-Aghānī. XXI, p.102.

64. Hamāsa. I, p.7., al-Aghānī. VIII, p.122 and p.188; VII, p.39; VI, p.48; Diwān of Ibnu'r-Rūmī. III, p.335; Tibyān. II, p.467. respectively.

(65)
of the 5th Century is one 'Alī b. Muhammad of Bukharā who says:-

"May God add to the honour and exalted status of the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, our Master!"

The poet, Abū Naṣr, was much charmed with the manner in which Malik al-Ashtar, the distinguished warrior of the early Islamic period and the deadly enemy of Mu'āwiyā, had expressed his solemn undertaking and approved of the penalties he had imposed upon himself in case of failure. The poet, according to his own account imitated in the following lines the mode of expression adopted by Malik:- (66)

"If my soul shrinks from doing what pleases you, may it be made to endure separation from a friend or from a lover;"

"And if my heart desires what you do not like, may my anxieties be filled with anxieties for old age;"

"And if my eyes find pleasure in that in which you find none, may they never meet Su'da without a rival!"
The lines composed by Malik run as follows:- (67)

"May I hoard my wealth, and deviate from the (path leading to) rank and meet my guests with a face (like that of a) grim person,"

65. D. p.554, L.8.

66. D. p.727, L.2.

67. Hamasa. I, p.40.

"Just as when the sun of the sky becomes concealed in clouds, its heavy rain pours forth."

The other imitator says:--(70)

"If I do not send forth against the son of Harb (Abū Sufyan) a raiding party which will never cease to plunder men."

In this period the poets were often prevented from gaining access to rich persons by their chamberlains. Two of these poets tried to give plausible reasons for being so prevented. I am of opinion that these two poets followed the mode of expression found in a famous poem composed by 'Alī b. Jahm when he was imprisoned, beginning thus:--(68)

"Then I said to them 'Verily the way to honour is difficult and the fire (punishment) is severe,' but I answered 'The prison will do me no harm; where is the sword which is never sheathed?'"

The poem of one of the imitators, Abū Nasr, is as follows:--⁽⁶⁹⁾

"The shining star is seen to be brightest in the darkness just before the dawn."

"They said 'You have been hindered from access to the 'Amīd' but I answered 'This implies no humiliation or disgrace to me;'"

"The full moon is surrounded with darkness (caused) by its halo and the lion is wrapped round by the thicket;"

hind legs and neck, who protects the son of Harb, is not."

"Though the seekers of (his) favour are denied admission to him, his bounty is unveiled;"

war dashes gallant son out against enemies!"

68. al-Aghānī. IX, p.109.

69. D. p.522, L.3.

"Just as when the sun of the sky becomes concealed in clouds, its heavy rain pours forth."

The other imitator says:-(70)

"When we intended (to see) Ja'far the son of Muhammad, the friend of the noble and the comfort of the free;"

"They said 'The way to him is narrow and dark and the entrance is difficult for the visitors;'"

"Then I said to them 'Verily the way to honour is difficult and the fire (remains hidden) in stones;'"

"The shining star is seen to be brightest in the darkness just before the dawn."

Some few only of the poets quoted in the anthology have tried to imitate the vocabulary of the early poets. It will be enough to quote a few typical examples from a poem composed by Abū Ja'far al-Bahhāthī. (71)

"The lion (with) sharpened claws (and) thick fore and hind legs and neck, who protects the den of the whelps, is not,"

"Any day more brave than he in the midst of the fight while war dashes gallant men one against another;"

70. D. p.528, L.7.

71. D. p.1092, L.7.

"I became afraid when his looks came down to the plain of his cheek, while its burning coal was searching."

"And neither is the sea (with) roaring waves whose tops are rising one after another,"

"... returned safely, while one who was afraid, was consumed."

"More generous and bountiful than he when the bearers of good tidings announce (the coming of) visitors and guests."

"He walks with a bright sword towards the camels of good breed when the teats of rain are dried up - the sword moistening their forelegs" (when it cuts them).

These lines are full of archaic words, borrowed from the early poets, and exhibit a mode of imitation which is rare among the poets quoted in al-Bakharzi's anthology.

(111) The borrowing of ideas.

There are a number of lines in the anthology which express the same ideas as are common in the compositions of the earlier poets. In a very few cases only can it be said that this similarity is a mere coincidence. In other cases, the authors are certainly guilty of plagiarism, because these ideas are neither the common property of all poets, nor is any acknowledgment made of the fact that they have been borrowed, - a courtesy which should only be dispensed with in the case of lines, the authorship of which is known to every one. The following may serve as examples:-

A poet says⁽⁷²⁾ "to the pleasure are welcome to blame me."

72. D. p.766, L.7.

75. *Hamza*. II, p.375.

76. *Hamza*. II, p.375.

"I became afraid when his locks came down to the plain of his cheek, while its burning coal was scorching."

"His locks, one and all, returned safely, while one who was afraid, was consumed." That his patron is a ruler and is generous. This idea is taken, as pointed out by al-Bakharzī himself, from the following line composed by al-Mutanabbī:-(73) The money is sure, somehow or other, to come back to his treasury and will be distributed again, therefore it is bound to be always

"They (the fair damsels) smiled with (teeth white as) hail (and) I feared lest I should cause them to melt with the heat of my breath; but I myself melted away."

The poet, Abzūn, says:-(74)

"The stunged albatross does not continuously abide in our purse; but passes by it as it goes on its way" (to needy persons)

"May she not grow tired of reproving me; for verily I regard her reproof as one of (her) gifts!"

This idea has probably been suggested either by one or the other of the two following lines. The first of them was composed by a poet unnamed:-(75) The gem of the Sapphire, is a piece of stone."

The poet says that his patron is above the human race to which he belongs and cites a parallel case in support of this statement viz., that the sapphire is nothing but a piece of stone in spite of its being more precious than other stones. This idea has certainly been taken from al-Mutanabbī who, according to

"If it has grieved me that you have done ill to me, still it has pleased me that I have found a place in your mind."

The second line was composed by Abu'sh-Shīr (76) "I find blame concerning (my) love for you pleasant, owing to (my) longing for mention of you; so the blamers are welcome to blame me."

73. Tibyān. I, p.91. 74. I, p.222. and al-Fakhrī, p.2.

74. D. p.77, L.1. 1.

75. Hamāsa. II, p.106.

76. Hamāsa. II, p.143.

as follows. Another poet says:-(77)

"Wealth does not remain with you for a single day; then how long will it go on travelling?" not found in grapes."

The poet means to say that his patron is a ruler and is generous. As soon as the money comes into his possession he disposes of it in charity; but since he is a ruler, the money is sure, somehow or other, to come back to his treasury and will be distributed again, therefore it is bound to be always travelling. The same idea had been expressed by an earlier poet unnamed.(78) He says:-

"The ill haps of time lie in wait for one who revolts against him (i.e. the poet's patron); so though one may escape

"The stamped dirham does not continuously abide in our purse; but passes by it as it goes on its way" (to needy persons

The poet means that the dirham is sure to receive punishment either from his patron or from the evil happenings of fate. He can not escape both. Perhaps this idea has been borrowed from

the ? "If he is counted, in this world, as belonging to the class of its inhabitants (it matters little); for the gem of the Sapphire, is a piece of stone."

The poet says that his patron is above the human race to which he belongs and cites a parallel case in support of this statement viz., that the sapphire is nothing but a piece of stone in spite of its being more precious than other stones. This idea has certainly been taken from al-Mutanabbi who, according to ath-Tha'ālibī⁽⁸⁰⁾ was the first poet who gave expression to it. Al-Mutanabbi has repeated it in several lines; two of them run

77. D. p.84,L.5.

78. Mukhtasar al-Ma'ānī. I, p.232. and al-Fakhrī. p.9.

79. D. p.119,L.11.

80. Yatima. I,p.93.

as follows:- (81)

"Though the mighty (tribe of) Taghlib is her origin, yet wine possesses qualities such as are not found in grapes."
 you frightened therewith (even) the unborn babies in (their) mother's womb."

"If you excell all created things though you are one of them, (it is not to be wondered at); for verily musk is a part of the blood of the gazelle."

Another poet says:- (82)

"And you so terrified the polytheists that (even) the spermate, yet unborn, were afraid of you."

"The ill haps of time lie in wait for one who revolts against him (i.e. the poet's patron); so though one may escape him, he can not escape the watcher."

The poet means that the rebel is sure to receive punishment either from his patron or from the evil happenings of fate. He can not escape both. Perhaps this idea has been borrowed from the following two lines composed by an early poet unnamed:- (83)
 part of the famous poem composed by Farazdaq in praise of the great-grandson of the Prophet:- (87)

"Over your enemy, O son of Muhammad's uncle, there are two lying in wait - the light of the morning and the darkness" (of the night);

"So if he is awake you may frighten him and if he is asleep, (in his) dreams (he sees) your swords drawn against him."

81. Tibyān. I, p.68. and II, p.31 respectively.

82. D. p.820, L.5.

83. D. p.435, L.4.

84. D. p.28, L.3.

85. Mukhtasaru'l-As'ad. II, p.444.

86. D. p. 846, L.8.

87. Wafayāt. II, p.284.

Another poet says:- (84)

"And you carried through your determination (so far) that you frightened therewith (even) the unborn babies in (their) mother's womb."

This idea is certainly taken from the following line composed by a poet unnamed:- (85)

"And you so terrified the polytheists that (even) the spermata, yet unborn, were afraid of you."

Another poet says in praise of the Nizāmī'l-Mulk:- (86)

"No' was never uttered in the course of his speech; as if he never knew any word except 'Yes'"

This idea is taken from the following line which forms part of the famous poem composed by Farazdaq in praise of the great-grandson of the Prophet:- (87)

"He never said 'No' except in his tashahhud (There is no God but God). Had there been no tashahhud the 'No' would have found expression in 'Yes'"

(c) ORIGINALITY OR IMPROVEMENTS IN POETIC EXPRESSION.

In spite of what has been said above in reference to the imitation of early poetry, there are to be found certain new or improved aspects of poetry which may be regarded as the

84. D. p.65, L.6.

85. Mukhtasaru'l-Ma'ānī. II, p.244.

86. D. p. 566, L.8.

87. Wafayāt. 11, p.264.

contribution of the age to Arabic literature. This may have been due to the change in the general conditions of the age and particularly to the revival of national feeling among the Persians. A few instances have already been cited which show how the Arabs were prejudiced against the Persians and were indifferent to the literary contributions produced by them. On the other hand, the Persians showed hatred towards the Arabs e.g. Fannā Khusrū, a Persian as his name clearly shows, addresses a ruler of Persian descent as follows:-(88) according to the author, a translation of a Persian line:-(93)

"Keep our tradition alive by killing the Arabs and follow (the example of) Sābūr in respect of what he did." The majority of the poets whose mother tongue was not Arabic, were of Persian extraction and almost all of them were Muslims and as such they were naturally unwilling to abandon altogether the language of their spiritual leaders. Therefore after the revival of Persian national feeling, they began to some extent to develop their own language and at the same time it appears that they tried to enrich their second language, viz., Arabic, with some of their own ideas, and these were subsequently adopted by Arabic poets of other nationalities. Some of the following typical instances will serve to illustrate ideas which were either entirely the outcome of the Persian mind in harmony with the intellectual movement of the age or, though originally the result of Arab modes of thinking, were yet so skilfully re-touched by the Persians as to have been made their own.

89. In his notice of several poets al-Bakharzī has pointed out that those poets sometimes deliberately translated ideas from Persian into Arabic lines. Out of such poets only a few need

88. D. p.186, L.4.

94. D. p.404, L.10.

be mentioned here. Ibn 'Abdullāh(89) translated certain Persian lines composed by Farrukhī, a contemporary of Firdusī, into Arabic. Another poet Abū Nasr(90) was a skilful translator of Persian lines into Arabic and so was the poet, Abū'l-Qāsim.(91) Al-Bakharzī in his notice of a poet called Abū Manṣūr,(92) has cited two lines, among others, composed by him, and has pointed out that the idea expressed in these lines was typical of a large group of ideas translated from Persian into Arabic. The following Arabic line composed by al-Bakharzī's father is, according to the author, a translation of a Persian line:-(93)

"I do not dye my hair black to avoid the remark that
(I am) a prostitute
"I clung to her as flame (clings) to candles and parts with
them (only) on its being extinguished."

The Persian line runs as follows:-

Besides, there were a few topics common to Arabic and Persian poets of the time about whose origin and birthplace nothing can be said with certainty. One such topic was an attempt to furnish a plausible argument in favour of the practice of dyeing grey hair with hinna or the like. Some of the poets hold that if young ladies are entitled to use hinna, there is no reason why men should not do the same. One of these poets says:-(94)

89. D. p.812,L.8.

90. D. p.1032,L.11.

91. D. p.1171,L.3.

92. D. p.949,L.10.

93. D. p.950,L.6.

94. D. p.404,L.10.

"The objects of my love disapproved of the hinna in my hair; though they themselves adorned therewith the white ends of (their) fingers."

According to others old men are expected to possess certain qualifications characteristic of their age and if they do not possess them, they must dye their hair lest people should remark that such an old man leads the life of a profligate.

A certain poet says:-(95)

Love made me a captive (in the hand) of humiliation and weakened me, though there was no disease in my body."

"I do not dye my hair except to avoid the remark that (I am) a profligate old man."

Al-Bakharzi has cited the following Persian lines expressing the same ideas:-(96)

father followed the example set up by these two poets and themselves composed Arabic quatrains. (100)

Muhammad b. Shakhir al-Farabi has cited in Persian:

"If you are grieved at my dyeing and blackening my hair, may you be more grieved and suffer more distress."

"My object in doing so, is not that I may be taken for a young man; I am afraid lest they expect me to have the prudence of an old man and may perchance not find it" (in me).

It is a fact that the form of the ode (قصيدة) was borrowed by the Persians from the Arabic poets. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that the Arabic fragments in the form of Persian quatrains were composed for the first time during the period under consideration. Al-Bakharzi in his notice of Ahmad b. al-Hasan, (97) a resident of a suburb of

95. D. p.797, L.11.

96. D. p.798, L.9.

97. D. p.740, L.5.

Būshanj, after quoting two Arabic quatrains composed by him, remarks(98) that he had never come across any such form of Arabic poetry before. But at the same time he learned from his father the name of another poet, perhaps a contemporary, who also had composed a few Arabic quatrains. One of them is as follows:- (99)

Love made me a captive (in the hand) of humiliation and weakened me, though there was no disease in my body,"

The fact that al-Bakharzī never came across any instance of "And extirpated and destroyed patience altogether. of it There is neither might nor strength but in God!" as ground for Al-Bakharzī and his father followed the example set up by these two poets and themselves composed Arabic quatrains.(100)

Muhammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī has cited in Fawā'id al-Wafayāt, a supplement to the Wafayāt of Ibn Khallikān, an Arabic quatrain viz., even in their poems metaphors are commonly borrowed from these two games. Abū 'Amir al-Jurjānī(103) warns against Fortune as follows:-

"Gently censure whom I love when you meet her and tell her (the pains) I feel."

"And be on your guard against Fortune (lit, time) lest it should find you alone! For the tabloer (with which the game is played) in backgammon is caught when it is alone.

"If the (suggestion of) union makes her angry, dissimulate with her concerning it; and if she feels compassionate (to me), ask her not to forget her servant" (viz. me).

and has pointed out that the idea expressed therein was

borrowed from four lines composed by Wawā, a famous poet of

98. D. p.740, L.11. 99. D. p.741, L.3.

100. D. p.441, L.3. and 441, L.4.

Damascus. This last mentioned poet died sometime between A.H. 390 and 399. (101) Al-Kutubī has neither named the poet who wrote this Arabic quatrain nor has he mentioned the time when he flourished. Therefore nothing can be said, even approximately, about the date of its composition except that it was written sometime between the latter part of the 4th Century and the middle of the 8th. Ibn Khallikān has also cited a quatrain (102) which was composed sometime in the first half of the 7th Century A.H. by Ibnū n-Nabīh, the secretary to Mūsā the son of al-Malik al-'Adil.

The fact that al-Bakharzī never came across any instance of this form of poetry before in addition to the absence of it in the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr, will perhaps be sufficient ground for the opinion that it was copied, for the first time, from Persian poetry in the 5th Century.

In the anthology there are references to some poets who were famous as players of chess. Some of them played dice as well; and for this reason in their poems metaphors are commonly borrowed from these two games. Abū 'Amir al-Jurjānī (103) warns mankind against Fortune as follows:-

"And be on your guard against Fortune (lit, time) lest it should find you alone; for the tableman (with which the game is played) in backgammon is caught when it is alone."

In another poem he states that he has renounced the society of worldly persons. One of the lines runs as follows:-

endurance of whatever may befall, while she is in danger of perishing."

101. Fawātu'l-Wafayāt. II, pp.147-149.

102. Wafayāt. II, p.183.

103. D. pp.457,L.3. and 464,L.8.

107. D. p.29,L.2.

"And I kept aloof from them as the rook keeps to the sides of the board."

Another poet says in praise of his patron:-(104)

"May you continue for ever (as) the Queen of the State to this King before whom his rooks (subjects) fall down prostrating themselves."

By this time the art of writing had come into general use and was considered to be an essential qualification of a poet. In more than twenty places(105) in the anthology poets are referred to as being gifted with a fine hand-writing and their skill in that art is admired by the author. The anthology embodies several poems composed by different poets in which the different aspects of the pen are described on a more ample and on a finer scale.(106)

The description of a burning candle was a well-worn subject; but in this period we recognise that there is a certain change in the point of view, for we find it sometimes described as a weeping lover and at other times raised to the status of a laughing lady. The following is an example:-(107)

"And many a yellow (object) like myself, in its love (for another) enduring the accidents of Time and a straitened life,"

have visited (us) in waking hours, if it could have done so."

But a comparison of this poet with Abu'l-'Alī al-Bu'ārī shows

"Will always show you a smile, cheerfulness and patient endurance of whatever may befall, while she is in danger of perishing."

100. Sarayit. I, p.423.

104. D. p.312,L.10.

105. e.g. D. p.660,L.1.

106. e.g. D. p.937,L.4.

107. D. p.99,L.2.

idea. Al-Ma'arri says:-(111)

"Had she spoken at any time she would have said 'I think you imagine that I weep from fear of destruction.'" ^{upside}
^{when I travelled by day."}

"Do not think that my tears (are shed) on account of pain that I feel. It happens sometimes that eyes shed tears on account of excessive laughing."

The description of the phantom of a dream for which a poet of this period viz. 'Alamu'l-Hudā was very famous, (108) was also a well-worn topic. While it is true that some of the poets included in this anthology followed certain of the earlier poets in expressing the opinion that the phantoms of their ladies were more kind to them than the ladies themselves e.g. al-Babghā of Baghdad, (109) a poet of the preceding generation, says:-(110) ^{poets} want the phantom to remain as chaste as they themselves are or pretend to be. In the light of these remarks,

the advice of Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri to his lady becomes plain. He says:-(111)
 "Your phantom knows (my) attachment (to you) better than you do, and feels more compassion (than yourself) for the afflicted lover."

"You sent (your) phantom which acted unfaithfully (towards you) when you sent it. Do not in future trust any messenger."

"And when you robbed (me) of my sleep, (the phantom) would have visited (me) in waking hours, if it could have done so."

But a comparison of this poet with Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri shows that the latter has achieved greater success in working out this

108. Wafayāt. I, p.423.

109. He died in A.H. 398. Kitābu'l-Ansāb. s.v. Babghā, p.64b

110. Wafayāt. I, p.374.

111. Wafayāt. I, p.424.

112. D. p.92, l.10.

idea. Al-Ma'arri says:-(111)

"I never went out but your phantom accompanied me - in front of me when I journeyed by night and on my footprints when I travelled by day."

"It (the phantom) wishes that the darkness of the night may last long for it and that the black parts of the heart and of the eye may be added to it" (darkness of night).

In another respect also, these poets further develop an earlier idea, viz. some of these poets say that they are anxious to enjoy sleep not in order to get bodily rest but to gain a little peace of mind by seeing, in dreams, the phantoms of the objects of their love. But the hard-hearted ladies are unwilling that their phantoms should show any favour to their victims; for these ladies want the phantom to remain as chaste as they themselves are or pretend to be. In the light of these remarks, the advice of Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri to his lady becomes plain. He says:-(112)

"You sent (your) phantom which acted unfaithfully (towards you) when you sent it. Do not in future trust any messenger." In order to see the phantom, the lovers must have sleep of which they have been deprived. Hence arose the custom among the poets of lending and borrowing a dream. 'Alamī'l-Hudā is ready to lend(113) while another poet, also of this period, is ready to borrow.(114) They are both lovers; but their outlook upon

111. D. p.99,L.10 and 12.

112. D. p.100,L.12.

113. Wafayat. I, p.424.

114. D. p.92,L.10.

love affairs is different. The former says:- *the heart is the old belief that ladies have the heart.* (115)

O my two friends, "take sleep from my eyes; for I have bestowed slumber upon lovers." *and he who chooses a young girl*
The latter says:- *of every kind.*

The heart of a lover is completely occupied by his beloved
occupied by his love, while at other times he imagines that he has lost it! and the heart which in an early period have regarded the heart of the lover as in this way, and now in the other.

"Had she known (all) about (her) phantom, she would have prevented it from visiting us. She has, indeed, exceeded the bounds of niggardliness respecting that which will do her no harm!" *by now, is undoubtedly an expression of a later period,*

S.E. The subject of old age was also not a new one; but with the lapse of time this subject, like many others, had certainly received more refined treatment at the hands of these poets. *You have burnt my heart while you were occupying it; when how have you occupied burning?*
It was an old conception that grief and anxiety hastened the advance of old age. But Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī of Tihāma has skillfully given a new presentation of this idea, in his lines:- (115)
A comparison of the poem contained in the line cited above and the following two lines also composed by al-Hasanī reveals a further development of the same idea.

"And the burning of my bowels (i.e. my grief for the death of my son) has turned my hair white. This light (the whiteness of my hair) is a ray of that fire" (in my heart).

"Old age, even when it is faithful, is not loved, but how beloved is the commencement of youth - despite its treachery and unfaithfulness."

115. D. p.90, L.2 & 8.

117. D. p. 90, L. 2.

118. D. p. 90, L. 2.

Mihyār has cleverly succeeded in giving a new turn to the old belief that ladies hate old men. He says:-(116)

(Everyone) "is successful save he who chases a young girl and spreads the net of hoary hair."

The heart of a lover is sometimes supposed by him to be occupied by his lady, while at other times he imagines that he has lost it; and the Arab poets from an early period have regarded the heart of the lover now in this way, and now in the other.

There is a second idea, equally common, viz. that ladies burn the hearts of their lovers. But the harmonious combination of these two favourite notions so as to form one that is entirely new, is undoubtedly an invention of a later period, e.g. al-Bākhazī says:-(117)

"You have burnt my heart while you were occupying it; then how have you escaped burning?"

A comparison of the ideas contained in the line cited above and the following two lines also composed by al-Bākhazī (118), reveals a further development of the same idea.

"She said, when I had inquired about her from everyone I met - whether town-dwellers or desert folk,"

It is a well-known fact that the Pagans Arabs were expert in tracking out people and animals by their foot-prints. In

"'I am in your heart; cast your eye towards it and you will see me'. Then I said to her, 'Where is my heart!'"

116. D. p.200,L.11.

117. T. S. p.157.

118. D. p.648,L.1.

The eyes of beautiful persons were supposed by the early poets to be filled with magic. A poet of this period seeing one of his friends swimming in a canal, advises people not to use its water, because it now had become saturated with the magic of his eyes. He says:-(119)

"Drink not its water at any time and do not go down to it."

"Witchcraft has crept into it from his eyelids or his eyeballs."

The lovers weary of separation from their ladies and unable to endure it any longer, are generally inclined to seek the aid of death in order to gain relief. Abū Kāmil seriously ponders over the problem⁽¹²⁰⁾ "To be or not to be." He can no longer endure the pangs of separation, therefore he proposes to commit suicide. But he can not do so, for if he did, his lady might possibly be held responsible for his blood. He says:-

"By my life! death would be sweeter than a life (spent in) longing and suffering",

"But for my fear that one I love, may be held responsible for the sin (committed by) me."

It is a well-known fact that the Pagan Arabs were expert in tracing out people and animals by their foot-prints. In one of Imru'ul-Qays' love excursions there is an allusion to this practice. When he went out with 'Unayza, she, as a

119. D. p.67,L.7.

120. D. p.31,L.12.

121. D. p.495,L.1.

122. al-Aghāṭī. I. p.180.

precaution, obliterated their foot-prints by dragging behind them her flowing skirts. (121) because he has already exhausted all the conceivable means which may serve as an excuse for going there. He says:-(124)

"I went out with her; as she went she was dragging over our foot-prints the skirts of an embroidered silken garment." The same precaution is taken by a poet of this period; but in his case, in keeping with the more refined condition of the age, greater respect is shown to the lady. In the picture drawn by Imru'ul-Qays the task of erasing the foot-prints was assigned to the lady and the marks were erased with a garment. Here the lover himself undertakes the duty and rubs them out with kisses. He says:-(122)

"When (my lover) pays a visit to me, I fear her enemies therefore I conceal her footsteps with kisses."

Some of the lovers devised means whereby they might visit the residence of their ladies without arousing suspicion. The famous early poet, Nuṣayb, pretended to have lost his camel and in search of the animal he succeeded in having sight of his lady. He says:-(123)

"I stopped at Dhū Waddān, while crying out for my (stray) she-camel; though neither a young one nor a foal was lost to me;"

"For I do not seek after beasts except as an excuse (to visit) one with shining teeth and sweet breath."

121. Ten Poems. p.54.

122. D. p.495, L.1.

123. al-Aghānī. I, p.140.

But a poet of this period develops the idea and says that he cannot go to his lady's abode because he has already exhausted all the conceivable means which may serve as an excuse for going there. He says:-(124)

"I have not forsaken your door on account of any hatred; but because all excuses have been exhausted."

Some of the poets of this period assert that their ladies are not only the objects of their love but that they are equally loved by some of the elements of the universe. Two lines, composed by Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, expressing this idea, (125) have already been quoted in another connection. Another poet says:-(126)

"O abode of 'Alwa (situated at) the winding of a valley, are you enamoured of her or I?"

"O traces of the encampment what is the matter with us? - you have become clothed in ruin and I in emaciation."

Al-Mutanabbi has described in one of his poems (127) how the sword of his patron spared none of the hostile camp except the fair damsels. He says:-

"And none was spared except those whom the deep red of their two lips and swelling breasts protected against the edge of the swords."

124. D. p.495, L.2.

125. Vide p. 36.

126. D. p.343, L.1.

127. Tibyān. I, p.191.

The poet has only touched upon one point viz. that beauty is a means of defence and perhaps this idea was suggested to him by an old phrase (128) **أَخَذَتِ الْإِبِلَ أَسْلِحَتَهَا**

(the camels became armed with their weapons) i.e. they have become mature and beautiful and therefore their owners will probably not slaughter them for their guests. A certain poet of this period develops this point still further (129) He says:-

One of the numerous drinking-scenes depicted by some poets of this period is as follows:-
 "They (i.e. fair ladies) sent out spear-heads from (their) eyes and brandished lances from (their graceful) stature."

"I ceased not to drink yellow wine like sparks, when the lady was so fine."
 "How fine are these arms and how fine is a time when beauty serves as a weapon!"

The ancient poets generally asserted that their ladies belonged to rich and mighty tribes and consequently they were inaccessible; on the other hand the ladies of this period are not generally so inaccessible as they are inexorable. One of the poets says:- (130)

"It is as though I see her image appearing (to me) in a mirror, but I have no access to it."

The context shows that the obstacle was the lady's cruelty

It is obligatory upon every Muslim to grow a beard. One of the poets of this period gives a novel apology for this practice:- (131)

128. Majma'u'l-Amthāl. I, p.20.

129. D. p.93, L.1.

130. D. p.231, L.8.

131. D. p.817, L.8.

"The two sides of your face', said she, 'are rendered black with hair; thereby beautiful faces become ugly.'"

"You kindled fire in my heart, said I, hence its smoke upon my two cheeks."

One of the numerous drinking-scenes depicted by some poets of this period, may, for its novelty, be quoted here:-(132)

"I ceased not to drink yellow wine like sparks, when the lady was the third of us (wine being the second) and the full moon the fourth;"

"Till the morning appeared from the lady's forehead and the night took (its) abode in (her) ringlets and forelocks."

Only a few poets of this period have given descriptions of natural phenomena or have depicted the beauties of nature. A certain poet gives, in a fine poem, a description of a journey in the desert and of the fire he lighted in order that the travellers in a waterless tract might be guided towards it. He says:-(133)

"When it (the riding beast) went round and round as a hand mill does, the dust (raised by it) raised a high pavilion in the desert;"

132. D. p.110, L.8.

133. D. p.227, L.6.

CHAPTER II

"Then it (the dust) stretched itself out on the horizon like the cell (of a Christian hermit); then spread out like a cloud, if only it could rain."

"The tongues of our fire invite all men (to feast with us), though it has no tongues except the sound (made by) it."

"As it (the fire) dances it licks the upper part of the smoke, just as the tongues of lightning lick the rain clouds."

Another poet says:-(134)

"And many a (cloud) accompanied by thunder, continued to shoot arrows of drizzling rain; and then turned its back and dropped its bow (i.e. the rainbow) in its flight."

"Did you not see the cheek of the rose (or roses of the cheek) bleeding from their shots and their iron-heads dyed with the calyx of the rose?"

CHAPTER IX.

THE POETS.

(a) THEIR QUALIFICATIONS AND SOCIAL CONDITION.

From the perusal of this anthology it appears that a poet in the 5th Century had to possess two qualifications, before he could receive recognition as a man of culture and gain admittance into high society. The first and most important of these was to know by heart a vast store of poems composed by ancient as well as modern poets; the second was a beautiful handwriting. Further, a candidate for a high post in the civil service, especially in the Correspondence Office (Dīwānū'r-Rasā'il), had to be able to write prose in a fine style; while for those who wanted a post in the office of the State accountant (al-Mustawfi) a thorough knowledge of Arithmetic was essential. A certain poet of this period praises the skill and the capacity of an accountant in these words:-(1)

"But for the fact that the Almighty does not need the help of His Creation, he would have been (appointed) an accountant on the day of reckoning."

There were also some other qualifications of minor importance e.g. a knowledge of the Cognate branches of the Arabic language and skill in some kind of play especially chess and backgammon.

Thus it is clear that in the Islamic culture of this period, as before, a prominent place was given to poetry.

Even those who were great jurists and religious leaders and whose proper field was not poetry, were generally authors of a few lines at least. On the other hand the anthology contains

1. D. p.637, L.8.

the notices of a few poets whose social status was very low such as a green-grocer.(2) Several more or less important meetings were held in which some controversial literary points were discussed or poems were recited. The most important of such meetings was one as was often held in Baghdad in the house of the two illustrious brothers viz. 'Alamu'l-Hudà and ash-Sharīf ar-Radī - themselves distinguished poets and generous patrons of men of letters. Another meeting of some importance was held at the house of 'Alī b. Mūsà al-Mūsawī in Marw.(3)

The poets occasionally met one another(4) in a local library established by a rich person of the place, interested in the cause of education.(5) It is worthy of notice that many of such private libraries were still attached to a mosque in a particular locality. The anthology furnishes many instances which show that a poet would invite a number of other poets on some suitable occasion and spend a few hours in reciting or discussing poetry. More generally some of them used to meet each other at the house of a patron, if they were fortunate enough to have one; for even in this period there were a number of rich people who retained in their service a few literary men and particularly poets.(6) This was done either because the patron himself happened to be interested in that particular branch of learning or wanted to keep up the tradition of early patrons of men of letters or for some other considerations. Some of these patrons took with them in their journey as many of the poets as they deemed convenient to themselves to while away their time e.g. Al-'Amīd Abū Naṣr when

last line contained this name. Yaḥyā at once came to the

2. D. p.973, L.1.

3. D. p.675, L.10.

4. e.g. D. p.103, L.10. L. p.10.

5. e.g. D. pp.960, L.4. & 974, L.6.

6. e.g. D. p.1010, L.9.

proceeding on a journey to India took with him two fine poets viz. Abū Ja'far al-Bahhāthī and Abū'l-Qāsim. On their way they alighted one evening by the side of a pool. A little later, the party gathered in the tent of the 'Amīd and took wine. Abū'l-Qāsim began to discuss, as usual, with his patron a certain line composed by al-Mutanabbī. In the heat of the discussion and the excitement caused by excess in drinking, the poet lost his temper and left the tent of the 'Amīd for his own. He fell into the pool and next morning was found dead.(7)

As every student of Arabic literature knows, during the earliest period poems were collected and preserved to us by Rawis. It was because they did not recite a large portion of the poetry composed by as-Sayyid Ismā'il al-Himyārī, since the subject matter of it gave offence to most Muslims, that his poems of this type have not come down to us.(8) If the early poems had not been so preserved geographical science would have especially suffered, in regard to the Muslim world in general and Arabia in particular. A perusal of geographical books written in Arabic shows that the authors of them depended mainly or entirely upon poems in identifying a number of insignificant geographical localities; but the poems preserved a great number of place names, which the geographers failed to identify. Further, the poems by themselves were not always a safe guide. Only one example need be cited here. Yāqūt, the author of Mu'jamu'l-Buldān, came across the name of Maṣqalabādh and he remembered the three lines composed by 'Abdu'l-Qāhir, the grammarian of Jurjān, which were recited by Zamakhsharī. The last line contained this name. Yāqūt at once came to the

7. D. p.852, L.2.

8. Fawātu'l-Wafayāt. I, p.19.

conclusion that Maṣqalabādh was the name of a village, probably in a suburb of Jurjān, the residence of 'Abdu'l-Qāhir.(9)

The same three lines quoted in this anthology, were recited to al-Bakharzī by Abū 'Amir al-Jurjānī who pointed out to al-Bakharzī that Maṣqalabādh referred to in the last line, was the name of Abū 'Amir's garden.(10)

While we acknowledge the great service done by the Rawis, we cannot fail to recognise that some of them have caused the authorship of a considerable number of poems to be suspect, since they interpolated verses of their own composition into ancient poems and circulated them in the name of the ancient poets; as well as claimed for themselves the authorship of verses composed by earlier poets.(11) There are two instances in this anthology which show that such corruption and false attribution of authorship survived to a certain extent up to this period and consequently there were collectors who recognised that great caution had to be exercised in this matter. One of them was Abū'l-Ḥajīb who was much interested in the poems of Abzūn, the Magian of 'Uman;(12) but he did not like to receive them from a reciter who got them from another reciter and so on; for in that case some degree of corruption was, in his opinion, unavoidable. Therefore he himself went to 'Uman and learned the poems composed by Abzūn from the immediate reciters of his poetry. Al-Bakharzī in his notice of another poet, Thābit b. Ḥārūn who was a Christian, has observed that he saw a copy of the Diwān of al-Mutanabbī made by Thābit which contained a certificate in the hand-writing of al-Mutanabbī himself to the effect that Thābit came to him, copied out his Diwān carefully

9. s.v. Maṣqalabādh.

10. D. p.448,L.3.

11. al-Aghānī. V, pp.172-174.

12. D. p.70,L.5.

and read it over to him twice. (13)

Even as late as the 5th Century a poet could not hope to win the favour of a patron, without at the same time knowing by heart a large collection of poems composed by notable poets both ancient and modern. The following remark made by al-Bakharzī about a poet is evidence of the importance attached to this qualification and proves that the office of Rāwī survived even up to this late period. He says that this poet remembers poems by heart, is the reciter of them and therefore is a fit candidate for the company of great men (14). In his notice of another poet he says that the poet knows by heart a vast number of poems composed by dwellers in the town and the country and compares the poet in this respect to the Ark of Noah which contained the samples of every animal that existed at that time in the universe. (15) As regards the recitation (Riwaya) of poems, there are numerous references to this practice in the anthology e.g. in his notice of another poet (16) al-Bakharzī, remarks that this poet seldom hands over his poems to the reciters. A certain notable poet, noticed in the anthology, calls upon the reciters of poems to take from him the fine poetry he had written in praise of the Nizāmū'l-Mulk. (17) In the anthology there is mention of two poets who possessed extraordinary good memories. One of them knew a large number of poems; and his knowledge of the occasions that had given birth to those poems and of the anecdotes connected therewith, was unsurpassed. (18) The other poet recited, in one breath, before al-Bakharzī more than twenty thousand lines composed by

13. D. p.77, L.7.

14. D. p.703, L.8.

15. D. p.918, L.9.

16. D. p.814, L.10.

17. D. p.160, L.2.

18. D. p.921, L.1.

Arabs alone. (19) One of the best poets of this period, Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, committed a vast number of poems to memory not merely because, being blind, he was unable to refer to books but also because that was the fashion of the day, though from the following story it is clear that his marvellous memory was not indiscriminating. Once he said in presence of Abū Yūsuf of Qazwin that he never came across any dirge worth committing to memory, composed on the martyrs of Karbalā and Abū Yūsuf recited to him a fine elegy beginning:-(20)

"The head of the son of Muḥammad's daughter and (the son) of his executor, is raised on the spear for the Muslims" (to see).

The following explanation of the survival of the practice Al-Bakharzī in his notice of 'Alī b. Muḥammad of Tihāma has quoted, among others, a pathetic elegy comprising 82 lines, of which a few lines only have also been quoted by Ibn Khallikān in his Wafayāt, (21) composed by the poet on his son. Al-Bakharzī, while a child, committed this elegy to memory. (22)

The fact is that the poets of this period, like their predecessors, did not attach much value to that sort of poetical learning in which they had to refer to any particular book or diwan. They regarded as their own what they safely treasured in their memories. A notable poet, Ibn Dūst, noticed in the anthology, expresses an opinion on the point which seems to be in keeping with the general tendency of the age. He says:-(23)

19. D. p.275, L.10.

20. Kāmil by Ibn Athīr. IX, p.238.

21. I, p.451.

22. D. p.84, L.12.

23. D. p.1166, L.4.

"It is incumbent upon you to know by heart and not to collect in books, for verily books have misfortunes which disperse them."

"Water drowns them, fire consumes them, the rat tears them, and the thief steals them."

Before the art of writing was introduced into Arabia the practice of committing to memory was the only means whereby men could preserve what they wanted to preserve. But after writing became general, it seems rather difficult to fix upon any particular motive for the practice. The observations made by Ibn Dūst do not fully account for it.

The following explanation of the survival of the practice down to this period may be offered tentatively. To the pure Arabs this practice had been handed down by tradition and from them it was adopted by the non-Arabs; the collection and memorizing of pre-Islamic Arabic poems had early been made subservient to the study of the language of the holy Qurān, and familiarity with it facilitated social relations with the conquerors. The ancient poems, apart from serving as true records of the time in which they were written, had not, by the lapse of time, lost much of their charm. Even in this period a few lines, dealing with love affairs, composed by a skilful ancient poet, were enough to arouse the emotions of the hearers and to set their minds on fire. The poets who were attached to their respective patrons had very often to spend some hours in their company, amusing them by reciting poems and occasionally discussing some literary point. This object could have been achieved only by means of the knowledge of a large number of fine poems composed by other poets; for it is vain to expect the poets to compose fresh poems for every such occasion.

During this period there were several independent or semi-independent Muslim states generally hostile to each other. Some of such states were attached to the house of 'Abbās, others (e.g. in Spain) to that of Umayyā, others again interested in the house of the Prophet and so on. In my opinion it might have been a powerful means of propaganda, at the time, in the interest of each party to bring to public notice such poems as were calculated to lend support to its claim; and if this opinion be true such poems, to a large extent, must have been those composed by the early poets, for whom there was no place in the present work. As regards the poets who have been noticed in the anthology, al-Bākhārī appears to have intentionally avoided making any selection from poems of this type. (24) But one can find here and there a few lines of this nature e.g. Tamīm b. Mu'izz addresses his brother, the ruler of Egypt as follows:—(25)

During the last eleven centuries in every generation, "God has bestowed the Khilāfat upon you; thus you avenge the sons of 'Alī on the sons of al-'Abbās." It was also to the advantage of a patron to encourage people to commit to memory the poems composed in his honour. Sayfu'd-Dawla was very pleased (26) with those who learned by heart the poems composed by al-Mutanabbī. The defective means of communications also might have been, to a certain extent, responsible for the survival of the practice. The poets generally moved from place to place in search of a living and therefore it would have been difficult for them to take several books and

24. e.g. Ar-Radī's certain poems.

25. D. p.107, L.5.

26. Tibyān. II, p.31.

divans with them. Lastly certain of the teachings of Islam and some practices common among influential groups of Muslims also encouraged the habit of committing to memory a considerable number of poems, long as well as short, e.g. our Prophet enjoined his followers to teach (by which I understand he meant to make children learn by heart) their children the Lāmiya composed by Shanfara; for it would teach them good morals.⁽²⁷⁾ About another well-known lengthy poem composed by as-Sayyid Isma'il al-Himyari,⁽²⁸⁾ it is stated that a pious man saw in a dream the Prophet and his cousin and heard the former asking the latter to learn this poem by heart and ^{to} ~~the~~ enjoin their followers to follow his example.⁽²⁹⁾ This poem begins with:-

different poets on toothpicks used by beautiful young ladies.⁽³²⁾

"In Liwa there is a dwelling of Umm 'Amr, traces of which have become effaced and it is destitute of pasturage and human beings."

During the last eleven Centuries in every generation, even in India up to the present day, some Shi'a children are made to learn this poem by heart. The famous seven poems ('Alawiyyat), comprising several hundred lines, written by Ibn Abi'l-Hadid⁽³⁰⁾ are also committed to memory by a few Shi'as of Persia and India. The author of a commentary of these poems, viz. Muhammad b. 'Ali al-'Amili, had according to himself, also learnt them by heart while he was a child.⁽³¹⁾ The first

27.

(Majmu', fol.18b.)

28. He was born in A.H. 105 and died in 173. (Fawatu'l-Wafayat. I, p.19.)

29.

(Majmu', fol.127a.)

30. He was born in A.H. 586 and died in 655. Fawatu'l-Wafayat. I, p.248.

31. Majmu', fol.74b.

line of the first poem begins with:- to which those rhymes were designed to lead him. (32)

"Beware! Verily the (way leading to the) upland of glory is clear and wide; but it is (beset with) many dangers and is feared."

The anthology shows that at least some of the poets of the period under consideration knew by heart practically all the fine lines, composed by poets from early days down to their own period, dealing with a particular topic e.g. the eyes of a lady, her thin waist, her graceful stature, a certain emotion aroused on a particular occasion and so on. Al-Bākhārī and Abū 'Āmir al-Jurjānī vied with one another in reciting lines composed by different poets on toothpicks used by beautiful young ladies. (32) A considerable number of these poets not only extemporised on the spur of the moment (33) but they also occasionally competed with one another in this respect. (34) They showed several other tricks in order to demonstrate their command over the Arabic language. Al-Bākhārī wrote a poem in praise of a poet called Abū Ṭalīb. He has quoted only 15 lines of this poem in his anthology. In showing his gratitude to al-Bākhārī, Abū Ṭalīb wrote a poem in his praise comprising 37 lines. He retained the same metre and rhyme-letter as were employed by al-Bākhārī; but he successfully avoided all those rhymes which had already been used by the latter. (35) Half a dozen difficult and uncommon rhymes were given to Abū 'Āmir al-Jurjānī by some of his intimate friends who asked the poet to compose a poem containing those rhymes. He showed his skill in handling them as well as in expressing his ideas, though utterly immoral, in such a way as to form a single coherent narrative; but he did

32. D. p.240, L.4.

33. e.g. D. p.253, L.8.

34. e.g. D. p.806, L.9.

35. D. p.133, L.2.

not or could not deviate from the path to which those rhymes were designed to lead him. (36)

In pre-Islamic as well as in early Islamic days one of the main roads leading a poet to renown, was to be praised or in certain cases to be satirised, by a notable contemporary poet. In order to achieve the first object he had to show to the poet some especial favour according to the particular circumstances of the time; (37) and in order to gain the second object he had to provoke the poet in some way or other, e.g. Bashshar b. Burd satirised Jarir in the hope of himself coming to prominence by being satirised by Jarir. (38) But in this period no poet appears to have chosen the second alternative. Abū Ja'far al-Bahhathī was one of the few dangerous satirists of this period and consequently everybody, poets and non-poets alike, were careful not to give him the slightest provocation. (39) A careful study of the anthology suggests that some of the inferior poets were ever anxious to win the praise of a superior poet and thus be lifted up out of the rank of other poets of equal merit. But the distinguished poets were not expected to condescend to take notice of the poets inferior to themselves. Therefore they devised an ^{ingenious} ~~ingenious~~ plan to achieve their object viz. whenever they found an opportunity they praised someone of the distinguished poets who found himself at once under an obligation to praise him in return. Only one instance of the device may be cited here. Al-'Amīd Abū Bakr al-Quhistānī, himself a good poet, wrote a poem when he was to leave Baghdad, in praise of 'Alamu'l-Huda and in the last two lines of the poem the 'Amīd asked him to choose one of the two alternatives -

36. D. p.467, L.7.

37. e.g. al-Aghānī. VIII, p.80.

38. al-Aghānī. III, p.23.

39. Dictionary of Learned Men. VI, p.409.

either to write an elegy on the 'Amīd, or to compose for him five lines which would elevate his position in the eyes of the people and would serve him as provision in his way. (40)

'Alamū'l-Huda could not decline to provide the 'Amīd with the provision asked for. He composed a poem of 20 lines the concluding line of which deserves notice. (41)

"When you asked the poem from me you heard it; though it was for him who endeavoured to get it, (as difficult to get as) Nasr and Farqad" (two stars).

It appears that the poets of this period cared much for the literary compositions of the early writers and wanted somehow or other to get copies of them. This object was achieved partly by copying them out themselves or by getting others, through personal influence or remuneration, to make copies for them; and partly by purchasing them if they could afford to pay the price. As an example may be given the case of a single man viz. Abū Ja'far al-Bahhāthī who himself copied out the Yatīmatu'd-Dahr in five volumes. (42) Once the Mu'jamu'sh-Shu'arā by al-Kātib al-Marzubānī was offered for sale and all the men of letters in the locality desired to have it. But the above-mentioned poet offered the highest price viz. ten gold coins and purchased it. (43) There is mention made in the anthology of a man with a fine hand-writing who copied out a particular work beautifully and presented it to a rich person whom the copyist knew to be interested in that work.

The anthology says that several libraries, public as well as private, were established during the period under consideration and the collection of books contained in some of them was

40. D. p.194, L.11.

41. D. p.197, L.3.

42. Dictionary of Learned Men. VI, p.410.

43. D. p.958, L.10.

very considerable. But nothing is said to the means by which the books were obtained. If they were mainly got by purchase, this would imply that there must have been a considerable number of persons who depended for their livelihood on making copies of useful books and selling them directly or through booksellers to persons who wanted them; for it could hardly be imagined that persons themselves interested in those books would have parted with them in such a large number. Some of them might have been obtained as presents from other persons. The anthology also does not indicate whether any Muslim State of the period maintained any library.

After studying Arabic literature and practising the writing of Arabic prose and verse for a considerable time some of the poets whose mother tongue was not Arabic and who lived in places other than those in which pure Arabic was spoken, used to go to some parts of 'Iraq and particularly to Baghdad so as to learn the language in its purest form and become acquainted with literary movements in those places. Abū Muhammad al-Hamdānī, a resident of Khawāf, went to Baghdad with such an object and remained in that city for some time. He there collected some fine poems composed by the poets of the Metropolis of Islam. When he returned home the presents which he gave to his friends, were these same poems. (44)

It has already been pointed out that the poem recited by al-Bakharzī before the Caliph, al-Qā'im, in A.H. 455, was not appreciated by the people of Baghdad. Shortly after, al-Bakharzī went to Karkh and stayed there for some time, mixing with the learned as well as the unlearned and then he composed another poem whereby he succeeded in winning the approval of his former critics in Baghdad. (45) Some of these poets went

44. D. p.945, L.1. Other instances are not lacking of poems being given by a poet as presents to his learned friends e.g. D. p.895, L.5.

45. Dictionary of Learned Men. V, p.124.

46. e.g. D. pp.220, 221 & 224.

47. D. p.838, L.6.

into the desert and learnt pure Arabic from the Bedouins and made themselves familiar with their manners and customs. The Bedouins were a conservative people and preserved the habits and modes of life of their ancestors; therefore a study of them was a great help to the thorough understanding of the ancient poetry. In short, by constantly keeping in touch with those who spoke pure Arabic the non-Arabs, who wrote in Arabic, were able to make fresh contributions to its literature and claim to rival its fine literary productions; it was for such a reason that Zawzan, near Naishapur, was entitled 'The smaller Basra'.⁽⁴⁶⁾

But in spite of the immense labour that such memorizing implied, there is evidence to show that by the 5th Century poets had lost much of their importance. They could not even dream of exerting the same influence over the public as the early poets had done, e.g. al-A'sha when by means of a few lines composed in praise of al-Muhallaq al-Kibabi he turned the scale of the latter's fortune.⁽⁴⁷⁾ There are numerous poems in this anthology which show the bitter feelings felt by the poets towards the high officials and other rich people who ill-treated them. The poets were often prevented from gaining access to their benefactors from whom they expected assistance.⁽⁴⁸⁾ When a poet failed to gain access to the son of Hasan al-Mimandi, the Vizier to Mahmud of Ghazna, he sent him a poem with the following line in it:-⁽⁴⁹⁾

The poets of this period were generally extravagant in

"And whenever I composed a poem no opportunity of reciting it presented itself as when friends remonstrate one another," (i.e. when friends meet, one may remonstrate with the other for his neglect, but you give me no opportunity of reciting to you

46. D. p.1058, L.10.

47. al-Aghani. VIII, p.80.

48. e.g. D. pp.230, 521 & 994.

49. D. p.538, L.6.

a poem complaining of such neglect).

Another poet asked a certain person to request the Nizāmu'l-Mulk on his behalf to give him an opportunity of presenting himself before him in order to recite a poem and submit his case to him.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Another poet⁽⁵¹⁾ with much difficulty succeeded in gaining access to a rich person called Abu'l-Mahāsin (the father of good qualities); but the indifference with which this rich person treated him upset him much. In his disappointment he says:-

It is of interest to contrast this with the self-restraint exhibited on a similar occasion by an earlier poet. Before him "I entered the presence of the rich man; he was alone and I saw none of his children (i.e. good qualities) with him."

Al-Bakharzī in his notice of a poet, Abū Sa'd al-Juwaynī, has quoted several testimonials which, at the request of the poet, were granted to him by eminent contemporary doctors of theology and leading literary men.⁽⁵²⁾ These testimonials clearly show the poets' skill in the art of versification. The request for and the grant of such certificates as early as the first half of the 5th Century, seems to be a new fact in literary history. The anthology throws no light upon the motive which prompted the poet to obtain these documents. He may have considered the great men of his time to be incapable of judging by themselves of the poetical talent of a poet and therefore felt that he needed these testimonials in order to bring himself to their notice.

The poets of this period were generally extravagant in their praises of rich persons e.g. a poet says in praise of the

50. D. p.717, L.2.

51. D. p.527, L.6.

52. D. p.847.

53. Hamasa. 2, p.68.

54. D. p.389, L.5.

Nisānu'l-Mulk:-(53)

Islām "and the Muslims praise you; it is as though they praise in you a Prophet sent" (by God).

Another poet says about his patron:-(54)

"And one who by himself alone defeats the enemy; as though he were a huge army."

It is of interest to contrast this with the self-restraint exhibited on a similar occasion by an earlier poet, Zufar b. al-Hārith. (55) He says:-

"And when we encountered a band of men from the (tribe of) Taghlib who were leading short haired slender horses to death; on horses with a number of dependants. Out of many instances in which the poets have expressed their bitter feelings on

"We made them drink from a cup from the like of which they made us drink; but they were more enduring (in facing) death."

In spite of these exaggerated praises lavished by the poets on their patrons they were generally neglected by them. A poet (56) in his disappointment makes the following remarks on this point:-

"For their (patrons') sake we uttered lies in words and for our falsehood they have requited us in deeds; consequently they as well as we (both) went astray."

A notable poet of this period viz. 'Abdu'l-Qāhir of Jurjān consoles another poet on his being disappointed by the treatment

53. D. p.167, L.3.

54. D. p.907, L.1.

55. Hamāsa. I, p.42.

56. D. p.359, L.5.

of certain rich persons whom he had praised. In 'Abdu'l-Qahir's opinion the poet should not be dejected by their conduct towards him; for he himself had done no good to them by attributing to them the good qualities which they entirely lacked. He says:- (57)

"It should not disquiet you that they were not pleased with that which the panegyrists displayed to them;"

"For they are like people in front of whom white mirrors are (hung) while (their) faces are ugly."

These poets were much annoyed to see the high officials and other rich persons whom they regarded as their inferiors in point of learning, dressed up in fine garments or riding on horses with a number of dependents. Out of many instances in which the poets have expressed their bitter feelings on such occasions only a few need be cited here. One poet says:- (58)

ath-Tha'alibi says:- (58)

"How many a rider never walked on foot though his intellect is inferior to that of animals."

like has turned my black hair white,"

"The covering of the horse's saddle which one of his dependents carries before him in the market, wins for him admiration."

Another poet says:- (59)

Another distinguished scholar and poet of the period viz. abu Nihal al-Jakari, who was the author of several useful

57. D. p.445, L.9.

58. D. p.465, L.6.

59. D. p.467, L.4.

"The silk-cloth became abased when you put it on, just as the thin (like dust) cloth (which you wear) pours forth tears."

The same poet says:-(60)

"I said to him when he put on a robe of honour and consequently the death-rattle began in the throats of a large number of men of learning,"

"You seem to me like a bier which is never seen covered with its pall but it causes men to mourn."

Another poet says:-(61)

"And how many a man's garments are above his rank. Often are precious pearls strung upon a thread."

It is remarkable that even some of the most distinguished poets and scholars of this period complain of poverty e.g.

ath-Tha'ālibī says:-(62)

"Debts have weighed down my back and the oppression of time has turned my black hair white,"

"Then what benefits have I reaped from the firmness of will

"As also the lack of sustenance. What (pleasure is there in) life for one who is tried by lack of sustenance?"

Another distinguished scholar and poet of the period viz. Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, who was the author of several useful

60. D. p.464, L.4.

61. D. p.94, L.9. Learned Men. III, pp.156-157.

62. D. p.775, L.10.

63. D. p.364, L.6.

64. D. p.365, L.2.

books such as Jamharatu'l-Amthal and Kitāb u's-Sanā'atayn, (63) was also neglected by his contemporaries and had to earn his livelihood as a common salesman in the market. In those days scholars considered it derogatory to enter a market. (64) He says:- (65)

"My sitting in a market (engaged in) selling and buying, is a proof that men (have turned into) monkeys."

"There is no good in a people whose noble persons are humiliated while mean persons become prominent and chiefs among them."

"The shabbiness of my garment satirises them on my behalf in bitter terms, which cannot be improved."

The same poet says in another poem:- (66)

"When my property is (like) the property of one who picks up date-stones and my condition in your midst is the condition of a weaver or a cupper,"

"Then what benefits have I reaped from the firmness of will and from wit, while my hands have gained nothing in spite of learning and wisdom?"

"Who is among men who, seeing my conditions, will not curse paper, ink and pen?"

63. Dictionary of Learned Men. III, pp.136-137.

64. e.g. D. p.1021, L.5.

65. D. p.386, L.6.

66. D. p.385, L.2.

Another poet says (67) that owing to his poverty he has continually to wander from place to place.

"Whatever land I visit it declines to welcome me. My hopes serve me as feet and my poverty drives me."

"It is as though the world were the two hands of a cautious man and as though I am therein the deposit of a thief."

These poets, thus neglected by their contemporaries, were unanimous on the point that there was not in their age a single soul endowed with noble qualities. In their opinion base conduct was the only possible road that could lead an aspirant for high rank to his goal. Only a few lines of poets of eminence need be cited here, e.g. one says:-(68)

"(You will find) no noble person in your age if only you consider the evidence."

"Then bear testimony to the truth of my remark; or else prove me a liar by (producing) a single instance."

Another poet says:-(69)

"Noble deeds and faithfulness have disappeared from the world and have been rooted out except from poetry."

Another poet says:-(70)

67. D. p.76,L.7.

68. D. p.455,L.6.

69. D. p.91,L.10.

70. D. p.445,L.5.

"This is an age in which there is nothing but baseness and ignorance." *There is no money.*

"None can rise to a high position therein except by means of a ladder of baseness." *allow or being his servants.*
It appears that they were equally dissatisfied with the existing Governments e.g. one of them says:-(71) *lost in society.*

A distinguished poet of the period says that the poverty of poets and men of letters does not diminish their worth. (74)

"How many a State whose rise I hoped for, when it attained its utmost power, I began to hope for its decline."

"Do not deny what is due to a man of letters merely because he is naked and unclad."

"If a man's nation does not relieve his distress its good and ill fortune, are alike to him."

Some of the poets came to the conclusion that in such a state of affairs it was of no profit for poor persons to acquire learning, since poor scholars were handicapped in the race for wealth and position by the mere fact of their learning. One of them says:-(72)

"Do not feel secure from the breath of a poet as long as he is alive, stout and able to speak."

"Many a night have I cursed my father for not having taught me a trade."

For you who (can) praise you with lying words, can advise you well when he speaks the truth.
Another poet gave his brother the following advice:-(73)

Another poet says:-(73)

"Acquire learning when you have got wealth; for wealth embellishes what you learn."

"An eloquent poet is a black snake and his poetry is his spittle and venom."

71. D. p.523,L.7.

72. D. p.1072,L.6.

73. D. p.469,L.7.

"Learning is an honour to one who possesses money and a disgrace when there is no money."

"You may see the most learned of us in our age rising (to do honour) to an ignorant fellow or being his servants."

In spite of all these unhappy circumstances, the poets still claimed for themselves an important place in Society. A distinguished poet of the period says that the poverty of poets and men of letters does not diminish their worth.(74)

"Do not deny what is due to a man of letters merely because he is naked and unclothed,"

(b) "For a sword is the most terrible of things when it has been unsheathed."

Another poet says on this point:-(75)

"Do not feel secure from the breath of a poet as long as he is alive, sane and able to speak;"

"For one who (can) praise you with lying words, can satirise you well when he speaks the truth."

Another poet says:-(76)

"An eloquent poet is a black snake and his poetry is his spittle and venom."

74. D. p.455,L.3.

75. D. p.903,L.9.

76. D. p.404,L.6.

against non-Muslims. But from this it cannot be inferred that they themselves were pious-Muslims. They are generally waged for some worldly gain, and community of religious belief,

"And the enmity of poets is an incurable disease; but sometimes the treatment of it is easy for a generous man."

The following lines were addressed by a poet to a certain Alid(77)

"But for the Prophet, his cousin, their two children and the pure lady,"

"You would have known that I am a poet (and as such) I brand people with what I say."

(b) THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS RELIGION AND MORALS.

Some historians are of opinion that the early Seljūq monarchs and their ministers were generally fanatically orthodox. If by this is meant that they were orthodox in the sense of putting Islamic laws into practice in accordance with the precepts of the jurists, no support for such an opinion can be obtained from this anthology. This favourable judgment probably arose from the fact that certain eminent and influential religious doctors, such as al-Ghazzālī and Imām 'l-Haramayn al-Juwaynī and a few others flourished during the early Seljūq period. It is also possible that al-Bakharzī made no selection from poems that emphasized the religious zeal of the rulers and their subjects. Besides, this anthology closes one year before its author's murder and consequently covers only the earlier part of the Seljūq period. They may have gained a reputation for orthodoxy because they fought many battles

against non-Muslims. But from this it cannot be inferred that they themselves were pious Muslims. Wars are generally waged for some worldly gain, and community of religious belief, however superficial it may be, often unites men of different nationalities against the followers of a rival creed. Besides, the Seljūqs never hesitated to fight against Muslim States also, or to make use of religion for political purposes.

This anthology contains altogether only three passages which suggest that some regard was paid to religion by a ruler or the ruled.

The First is the satire composed by Abū Ja'far al-Bahhāthī against Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī whom he regarded as an atheist. (78)

"A dog howled in Ma'arratu'n-Nu'mān when he became free from the tie of faith."

"O Ma'arratu'n-Nu'mān you did not beget a noble child when you produced the foulest of the blind."

The second is a poem written by Naṣr b. al-Hasan in reply to another poem (not quoted in this anthology) composed in Asia Minor (Rūm) by an anonymous poet, in which he had given preference to Christianity over Islām. Naṣr in his poem upbraided the people of Asia Minor and their ruler for their evil conduct and threatened to invade their country if they failed to take warning. (79)

The third is a letter written by 'Amīdu'l-Mulk al-Kundurī (80)

78. D. p.97, L.3.

79. D. p.562, L.1.

80. D. pp.651-655.

to a certain religious doctor called Abū Muḥammad aⁿḵ-Nāṣihī about whose life no further information is given in the present work. Al-Kundurī in this letter wrote that the king (Tughril or Alp Arslān), was pleased to bequeath a certain property, lawfully acquired, to be used for the school and requested the doctor to supervise it from time to time; and that the king was also pleased to send him a present which must have been acquired by lawful means; since it was a mule of a white colour intermixed with black, captured by his victorious army during a war against the Byzantine empires whose patriarchs (بطارقة) fought riding upon mules.

On the other hand, the anthology contains a few poems and a considerable number of single lines which clearly show how indifferent their author's attitude was towards the teaching of Islām. It is true that only these poets can be held responsible for their utterances, but these lines together with a vast collection of other lines in which their authors have either given an account of or have expressed a desire for drinking, can hardly fail to reflect the general tendency of the Muslims of that age. From among such religious laws as have been disregarded by the poets, I have selected four only viz. those which concern drinking, the poor-rate, fasting and prayer.

The drinkers generally declared that they did not indulge in drinking for the sake of pleasure; since they held that wine was the best cure for worldly cares⁽⁸¹⁾ They also tried to justify this practice on the ground that they were after all human beings and not pieces of stone⁽⁸²⁾ and that life was transitory and youth was only a loan,⁽⁸³⁾ therefore they must

81. e.g. D. p.671,L.10.

82. D. p.742,L.9.

83. e.g. D. pp.58,L.4. and 85,L.10.

not miss any opportunity of enjoying life by drinking etc. whenever any such occurred. In the opinion of a poet the suitable time for drinking and playing upon musical instruments was the early morning. But that was the time of morning prayer. The poet showed his boon-companion a way out of this difficulty. (84)

"Rise up for the wine in the early morning when the Muezzin rises up" (to give the call to prayer)

"And when he proclaims (the name of) God, bid the lute proclaim."

"If you do an evil deed, O servant, He is kindly".

It is quite possible to plead poetical license as an excuse for the poets who utter such sentiments. But how can this indulgence be shown them in cases of the following type? A poet in a fine poem describes how he spent a pleasant day in the company of his friends in a garden which was in full bloom at the time. He depicts the beauties of nature and gives an account of the drinking and what followed it. (85)

"We enjoyed the time (lit. put on the shadow of pleasure as a garment) when all of us were drinking what is forbidden by the (revealed) books."

Another poet advises his companion. (86)

"If it ^{is} said that drinking of wine is forbidden to the followers of the faith of Muhammad then turn a Christian."

The irreverent attitude which Abu'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri

sometimes assumes towards religion is well-known, and finds expression in several passages in this anthology. Here it is enough to refer to his scoffing reference to the poor-rate where he certainly sympathizes with the animals which were given as such. In one of his poems he addresses his lady:—⁽⁸⁷⁾

"For (persons) other than myself is (intended) the poor-rate (in the form of) camels (because only Muslims should be recipients of it). But if there be a poor-rate (imposed on) beauty, then remember the wayfarer" (i.e. me).

In another poem he states that the burning pain of separation from his friends is more intense than that felt by certain animals who miss their young ones.⁽⁸⁸⁾

"And neither a she-camel whose young one was lost to her (lit. perished), whom an oppressor (or slaughterer of camels without disease) has seized (lit. exacted) as poor-rate made obligatory" by God.

A poet bids farewell⁽⁸⁹⁾ to the month of Ramaḍān in a very disrespectful manner. It must be borne in mind that Muslims bid farewell to this month humbly and respectfully on the last Friday as well as at the close of the month. He says:—

"I say to the month of fasting when I have finished it 'May the peace of God be upon thee and mayest thou be blest on thy departure.'"

87. D. p.100, L.11.

88. D. p.98, L.6. 1.3.

89. D. p.138, L.1.

"I was more eloquent than Sahbān but thy beans have made me (as stupid as) Bāqil."

I quote here a poem in which the author has made fun of the leader in prayer. This poem will, at the same time, show his imitation of and borrowing, though in a humorous mood, from The Mu'allāqa composed by Imru'īl-Qays. It will also show how indifferent the Imām was towards prayer. It would have been quite easy for him to recite certain portions of the Qurān correctly and to remember the exact number of raka'āt prescribed for each of the prayers. (90)

"A man whose soul is heavier than tracts of sand (consisting of) sandy hills (and) whose mind is lighter than the South and North winds,"

"Prays as imām with us in all the five prayers (of a day); may his five fingers be cut and may he be hurled down by a rock thrown by a torrent from above!"

"He lengthens (the act of) standing; it is as though he is a light-house, at evening, of a devotee monk,"

"And he continues to prostrate himself for a long time just as the huge trees of Kanahbul fall to the ground upon their black part of (his) heart."

faces," sitting upon her lover because she acted in accordance with the verdict given by God, viz. "women (may be punished) by way of retaliation." This use of the text of the Qur'an is

"And he is guilty of abomination as he recites the Qur'an incorrectly, as though he had taken several cups of spiced wine," which is one made by al-Bakharzī's father.

In a verse of the Qur'an God says "Verily we, when the water

"And he makes a long delay between two prostrations, as though he had become fastened with ropes of linen to a firm rock." which in his second line means a young girl.

"I said to him when he stretched out his back, protruded hinder parts and bent in (his) chest,"

This anthology contains a number of lines in which the

"And he added one more rak'at to (the prescribed number for) the prayer while my tears flowed till they wetted my sword-belt," such as readiness to take vengeance, (92) lack of

strength to face calamities boldly (93) and wearing of ornaments. (94)

But the number of poets who have dealt with immoral ideas is

"O venerable one whose prayer is lengthy, do you not think it more proper to bring it (prayer) to a termination?"

A poet says of his lady that she is a bashful girl and consequently the glances of her lover turn her soft cheeks red, on the other hand she captivates his heart with her own glances, (91)

by this period. This growth of the immoral ideas of a peculiar

"The outer angle of the (lover's) eye wounds her; while she (in her turn) wounds with the outer angle of (her) eye the black part of (his) heart."

In the opinion of al-Bakharzī the lady was perfectly justified

91. D. p.32, L.5.

92. D. p.32, L.3.

93. D. p.32, L.6; 105, L.6; 535, L.7; 594, L.2, and 1025, L.10.

in retaliating upon her lover because she acted in accordance with the verdict given by God, viz. "wounds (may be punished) by way of retaliation." This use of the text of the Qurān is undoubtedly irreverent and other uses of the same type are not wanting in this anthology. But the most irreverent use I ever came across in any book, is one made by al-Bakharzī's father.⁽⁹²⁾ In a verse of the Qurān God says "Verily we, when the water became in a state of commotion, mounted you upon a jāriya" which here means a ship. His father plays upon the word 'jāriya' which in his second line means a young girl

"Gavest not a binding marriage in this world; but do therein what a wisp does."

This anthology contains a number of lines in which the authors of them appear to have tried to bring about reform in certain existing conditions of the age, through their utterances, such as readiness to take vengeance,⁽⁹³⁾ lack of strength to face calamities boldly⁽⁹⁴⁾ and wearing of ornaments.⁽⁹⁵⁾ But the number of poets who have dealt with immoral ideas is by far greater than those who have aimed at awakening the moral consciousness of the people. Parallels for some of these immoral expressions are to be found in the earlier poetry; but some others are of a quite different type and though not entirely new, yet they reveal a further degredation of morals by this period. This growth of the immoral ideas of a peculiar nature was largely due to the increase of *paederasty* through their contact with the Turks and the Byzantines.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Leaving aside these two aspects of immorality I cite here the following

92. D. p.1004, L.3.

93. D. p.73, L.5.

94. D. p.191, L.1.

95. D. p.99, L.9.

96. e.g. D. pp.95, L.5; 105, L.6; 665, L.7; 666, L.2. and 1096, L.10.

instances which are not so gross as others and are especially characteristic of the period. A poet expresses his opinion upon a permanent marriage as follows:-(97)

"O you who are desirous of marrying, you are ignorant of what you seek (to gain) and are deceived thereby."

"Your two eyes have never seen a married man who is not grieved (and) devoid of joy."

"Covet not a binding marriage in this world; but do therein what a wasp does."

"Do you not see that when it finds an opportunity it draws near, stings, then flies away?"

Another poet suggests the sort of life people should lead during the night time and how they should behave during the day. (98)

"By indulging in vices openly the (market of) dignity becomes slack and (the edifice of) manliness becomes ruined."

"Therefore make seriousness during the day time (your) distinctive sign and amuse yourself and play by night as seems fit to you."

97. D. p.329,L.2.

98. D. p.385,L.6.

"Many a time I clad myself in the cloak of darkness,
beneath which under its (mask of) grimness pleasure laughed."

Bahā u'd-Dawla ordered a poet to compose a few lines for young girls to write on their silken girdles. The poet wrote the following three lines for such girdles:-(99)

"Why should I not feel proud while my resting place (lit. bed) is between waists and hinder parts,"

"And when I am woven I am (placed) between throat and breast"

"And I have grown up from childhood in the hands of mistresses (brought up) under curtains."

Much more evidence might be adduced as to the decay of morals during this period, but what has been quoted above must suffice here as typical.

(c) LACK OF INTEREST IN CURRENT POLITICAL EVENTS.

During the period under consideration it is hard to find anything of the nature of criticism, fair or unfair, upon the current topics of the day, made by persons interested in the affairs of State. Before proceeding further it will be proper to explain, in the light of this anthology, the nature of political opposition in those days. It generally took the form of an open revolt against the actual ruler, to an intrigue

with his enemy or to support given to a rival claimant to the throne, whenever it became vacant. ¹⁰⁰ he was charged with the

This anthology provides us with a few examples of the interest taken by some officials and other distinguished persons in political life in the forms explained above. But it does not tell us anything about other persons of a lower social status still less of the masses or reveal whether they took any interest at all in political affairs. In the absence of any direct evidence on this matter, it may be presumed that they did not.

Those who showed or were suspected of having shown any activity in any of the forms stated above, were either put to death or imprisoned and the lightest punishment was dismissal from service if the criminal or suspected man happened to be a government-servant. Tughril put Abū Naṣr, a government-servant, to death when he revolted against him.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ His brother, Amīr Bayḥū, caused Naṣr b. Sayyār, one of his officials, to be hanged because he suspected him to have intrigued with his enemies.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Abū Kālījār imprisoned his vizier, Dhu's-Sa'adat, on some ground unknown.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Farrukh Zād, the son of Mas'ūd of Ghazna, also imprisoned al-'Amīd Abū Sahl, the head of the Correspondence office for some fault not stated in this anthology.⁽¹⁰³⁾ 'Alī b. Muḥammad, a distinguished jurist and man of letter, was detained in prison for a long time in Ghazna on a suspicion that he invited people to adopt the religion of the Karmathians. His brother, Sa'id b. Muḥammad, was also charged with the same crime. He escaped arrest and

100. D. p.941.

101. D. p.681.

102. D. p.187.

103. D. p.880.

went to Yuzakand, a city in Māwarā an-Nahr, where he was made a Vizier by its ruler. But there too he was charged with the same crime and was put to death.(104) A poet consoles some person un-named for having been dismissed from service in the following words,(105)which enable us to judge how uncertain was the tenure of government-posts in those days:-

"You have been dismissed (from service) but you have not been dismissed from dignity; and your generosity (like a necklace) on the neck of dignity bears witness in your favour,"

"The enemies ought not to rejoice, for dismissal is a watering place - when one goes back from it another comes to it."

These cases and many others of the same type, added to a few observations already made concerning the freedom of utterance in earlier periods, may account, to some extent, for the lack of interest, on the part of the mass of people, in current political events. It has already been pointed out that the sphere of political activity, so far as such was permitted by the government in power, also was very narrow in those days.

104. D. p.986-989.

105. D. p.206,L.8.